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THE GREAT PAINTERS

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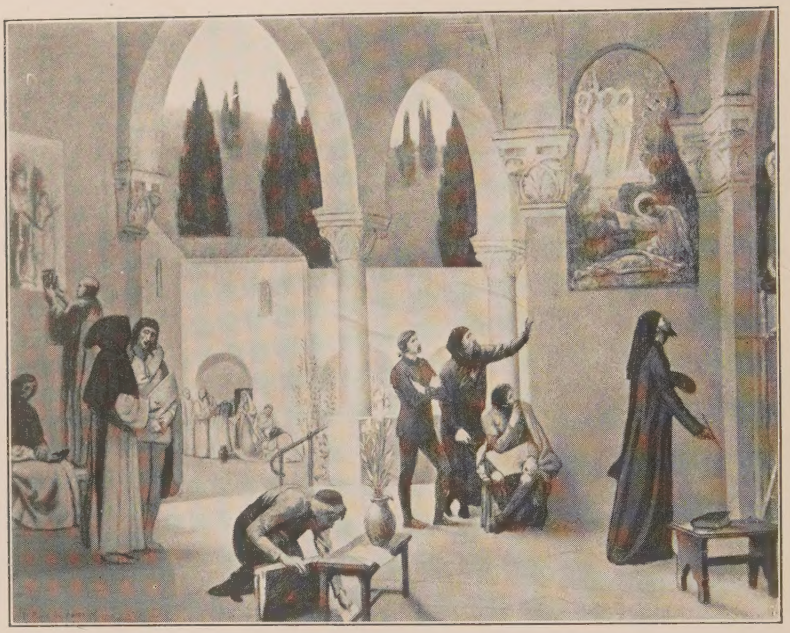

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES

Sketch for the decoration of the Palais des Arts, Lyons

Collection of Mrs. Chauncey Blair, New York. (Durand-Ruel)

Criticism passes, good work remains.—GAUGUIN

THE GREAT PAINTERS

In Relation to the European Tradition

BY

EDITH R. ABBOT

OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

WITH TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW YORK

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SET UP AND ELECTROTYPED BY T. MOREY & SON

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Law is the first step towards freedom, and beauty is the complete liberation which stands on the pedestal of law. Beauty harmonizes in itself the limit and the beyond, the law and the liberty.

The singer is translating his song into singing, his joy into forms, and the hearer has to translate back the singing into original joy; then the communion between the singer and the hearer is complete.

TAGORE.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Since the purpose of this book is to focus attention upon certain great achievements in painting, no attempt has been made to write a complete history of the development of the art. The intention has rather been, while throwing emphasis on the great periods, to illustrate the continuity of what may be called the European tradition in painting. Generally speaking, the creative age in each school is the period of great personalities. Before and after these creative ages, the national characteristics appear in the corporate work of the school rather than in individual geniuses.

The subject falls into three main divisions: the Renaissance, the seventeenth century, and the modern period, leadership passing from one to another country.

Painting after the Middle Ages revived first in Italy, flourishing there for three hundred years (fourteenth to sixteenth century). During this time, the great masters of the Renaissance emerged from a body of well-trained and often highly-gifted artists of secondary importance. No other school produced an equal number of distinguished personalities nor shows such consistent and prolonged vitality.

During the fifteenth century, painting in the North was represented by the realistic school of the Netherlands. In Germany, the Renaissance was cut short by the Reformation, but during this interval of turmoil the characteristics of the Teutonic race found expression in the art of Dürer and Holbein.

Upon the close of the religious wars between Spain and the Netherlands, a great revival in painting occurred. Velazquez, Rubens, and Rembrandt were contemporaries, and in their respective countries, Spain, Flanders, and Holland, arose important schools of naturalistic painting. New subjects and new technical methods marked an epoch in art.

In the eighteenth century, England, so long a patron of foreign artists, finally produced a characteristic native school of portraiture.

French painting, in the service of the court during the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries, gained momentum after the French Revolution and since that time has set the standard for European art. The spread of this influence, facilitated by modern conditions of transportation and intercommunication, has resulted in the cosmopolitan character of modern art, in which French influence is still dominant.

The historical background of the nation or of the individual painter is treated in this survey only in so far as it affects the choice of subjects, the treatment, or the ideals of painting. Standard biographical data concerning the artists, when not bearing directly on the text, are included in the appendix for reference. Biographies are very brief. For each epoch or important master recognized authorities in English have been mentioned, and books of a less specialized character have also been added.

History is the matrix of art, and painting can be fully comprehended only in relation to the epoch which brought it forth. It is, however, to be interpreted not only as the expression of a past age but as a revelation of the world about us today, of which we really *see* so little. Painting is addressed to the eye. In order to be understood it must be seen intelligently. Numerous illustrations have therefore been included, and lists of paintings are added as a guide to securing additional reproductions to use in connection with the text.

As far as possible, terms and phrases used in a professional sense have been explained in the text so that no glossary is required. Certain words, however, are employed with such diverse meanings by different writers that it is well to define the present usage.

By *design* is meant the element of structure in a picture dependent on the line, form, and colour. "Without design there is no art" (Cox).

Composition is the relation of the parts of the picture to the ideas which it expresses.

Pattern deals with surface, or two-dimensional relationships, and tends toward conventional rather than realistic effects.

Balance in painting results from an equal pull on the eye from the two sides of a picture.

Rhythm results from the movement of the eye directed by the artist's lines, masses, and colours.

Harmony involves the idea of a common factor in the treatment of line, tone, or colour. (All the colours may be intense, or all the colours may be neutral.)

Unity results from the successful fusion of all the parts of the picture to express the central idea.

Tradition "is the establishment of universal standards as against merely local . . . or individual fashions in art" (Rankin).

Naturalism is used to denote a representation of Nature which would be recognized by the general observer as corresponding to what he sees.

Realism is applied to work in which the study of specific facts interests the painter, rather than their relation to a synthetic whole.

Reality in the larger sense is "an effort to objectify intrinsic truth . . . and implies a creative imagination." "The great conception of Plato—the idea more real, more permanent than the object—is the message of every art" (Pach).

Three problems confront the artist: the interpretation of subject-matter, the organization of Nature by design, and his method of presentation.

In painting, the subject-matter is found in the world of images, both objective and subjective, and the interpretation offers as wide a variation as is possible in literature. Design and composition are the means of securing unity in every art. The principles by which the artist is guided are not invented by him arbitrarily, but are recognized as the expression of cosmic order. In rendering or presenting his subject in his particular art, however, further limits are set for him. His method is conditioned by the medium he uses—words, a musical instrument, or colour. It is his business, then, to bring his work into conformity with the principles of order, and in the case of painting, to reveal through the medium of the brush "the confidences he has received from the universe."

THE GREAT PAINTERS

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIAN PAINTING IN ITALY

The recovery of the ruined city of Pompeii in the eighteenth century brought to light the most extensive cycle of paintings surviving from classic times. No important examples of monumental Greek painting exist. The mural decorations of Pompeii, in large measure Greek in inspiration and in motive, furnish the best evidence, therefore, of classic pictorial art. The majority of the paintings were executed during the first century and illustrate the pagan style at the moment when the earliest conversions to Christianity were being made. On this account it is important to inquire what are the specific qualities of classic painting, which was the point of departure for the new Christian art.

Painting, like other arts of the Romans, was derived from Greece. For the Greeks, the body was of primary importance. Religious conceptions were involved in their ideal of physical beauty. "That which is beautiful" the poet writes, "is dear to the gods and that which is not beautiful is not dear to the gods." This beauty we may study in Greek sculpture and in a less perfect form in Roman painting—an echo of the lost painting of the Greeks.

In mythological and religious subjects, the figures expressed the ideals of physical perfection. The body was rendered with the intention of exhibiting the fully rounded forms of Nature with as great reality as possible short of a plastic material. The function of drapery—to reveal, not conceal, the form and movement of the body—led to its careful organization. The head was well formed and well poised. Rich masses of hair framed the broad forehead; the eyes were wide apart and deep-set; and the jaw-bone gave determination to the face, with its firm chin and rich, curved lips. By the Roman painter these characteristics were delineated with less subtlety than by the Greek artist, but the ideal was evolved from the same phenomena in both cases. The painter was at home in his craft, and he found little difficulty in grouping the figures or in expressing lively action or restrained dramatic intensity.

In certain of these paintings is reflected the pastoral feeling which had been a conspicuous characteristic of the Hellenistic period. The figures are small in scale, and the landscape setting shows a command over perspective which enabled the artist to suggest atmospheric distances of surprising naturalness in a technique which might be called "sketchy." The colour was strong as a rule and well related to the tones in the garden court on which the principal apartments of the house opened. The garden was planted with trees and shrubs, and a central pool reflected the blue of the Italian sky.

In the portraits, especially those from Fayum of somewhat later date, other aspects of classic painting are illustrated. A realism comparable to Roman portrait busts gives to these heads an astonishingly modern aspect.

Competent execution of figure compositions; the embodiment of an ideal of physical well-being in figures of plastic reality, either nude, or clad in simple, broadly-handled drapery; the treatment of landscape backgrounds, reproducing varied atmospheric effects; a native (Italian) sense for colour as an element in decoration, and naturalistic portraiture are, then, the most obvious characteristics of Roman painting.

The earliest examples of Christian painting are found not in house decorations, but in the decorations of the catacombs, especially those of Rome. The pictures were executed by inferior artisans and well illustrate the statement that early Christian art was at the same time both nascent and decadent. It constituted technically the last phase of classic art, which was already in a state of decline. The small body of Roman converts had no conception that they were living in a new era, as Christianity made no immediate mark on history, and several hundred years elapsed before the calendar recorded "the year of our Lord."

The catacomb paintings spoke a universal language, that of symbolism. Often a Christian interpretation was given to a classic theme, such as Orpheus with his lyre charming the beasts, as a type of Christ drawing all souls to himself. At other times the representation was in the nature of a hieroglyph. The fish was a symbol of Christ because the Greek word ἰχθύς was the acrostic of his title, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour. But in neither case was this symbolism favourable to the continuance of a naturalistic style of painting. Obviously the imagination of the believer was stirred in inverse ratio to the material reality of the object represented. Hence it is the student of religious thought,

rather than the art historian, who is led to a study of the catacomb paintings.

After the recognition of Christianity by Constantine, the artist had very different demands to meet. A decoration of the church building was required which should express the triumph of the new faith and its organization. This took the form of mosaics, first used in the semi-dome of the apses and later spread over the entire wall spaces and ceiling. The effects are magnificent and impress the mind with the idea of the immutability of the religious concepts they celebrate.

The gradual decline which is apparent in comparing early mosaics with those of a later date was the result of general causes, of which two were particularly important: first, the breaking up of the Roman Empire, resulting in widespread misery and disasters; second, the crystallization of Christian teaching into a dogmatic formula that was universally applicable and binding. This dogmatic tendency was of eastern origin centring in Constantinople, which had been founded on the site of the Greek colony of Byzantium. Byzantine influence was more or less strongly felt in Italy from the sixth to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. In art this was especially evident after the ninth century. Medieval painting existed as the visual counterpart of ecclesiastical teaching. The church as teacher dictated the choice of subjects and the order in which they should be placed in the building; thus the visitor passing from one medieval church to another will find certain subjects from Old and New Testament often repeated, to the exclusion of others which would seem equally important. In their own day such paintings required no explanation, for they were designed for persons to whom doctrinal and symbolic thought were second nature. Today this type of mind is non-existent, and to understand its art we must build up a knowledge sympathetic to the working of the medieval mind.

The technical changes which mark the decline through the medieval period may be summarised roughly as follows: The figure (Pl. 1A and Pl. 2C), at first well proportioned, free in movement, sculpturesque in form, becomes incorrect in proportion (the head large, the body withered), stilted in movement (a forward-facing pose without any action), and entirely without plastic form, like a paper doll, because of the omission of light and shade. The faces, at first resembling those found in classic painting, become elongated, the eyes large and staring, the forms emaciated, and the expression morose. Draperies, originally sculpturesque

and conditioned by the action of the body, are reduced to a calligraphic scheme and become so entirely a formula that the same lines and angles recur from century to century. Backgrounds, which in the fourth century prove the ability of the artists to use complicated material with success, are gradually impoverished until a conventional flat colour (preferably gold) is substituted for a natural setting. The change is caused by an increasing disregard of natural appearances. As the rendering diverges further and further from objective reality, another factor—that of design—is increasingly apparent.

This change from naturalism to convention in treatment is accompanied by a corresponding change in spirit. The ideal of a sane mind in a sane body, dominant in the classic period, gradually gives place to the ascetic ideal of medieval monasticism. The Christ, who in the fourth century gathers his followers about him to receive his intimate instruction, in the twelfth century is treated as an emperor whose inaccessibility and omnipotence are signified by colossal proportions.

This was the official art during the Middle Ages. Naturalism of the local tradition was only now and then betrayed in some intimate detail at variance with the formal conception, as in the arm of Christ about the Virgin's shoulders in the apse mosaic of Santa Maria in Trastevere. Almost imperceptibly, however, from about the ninth century, there began to be a slight stirring of new life, an awakening of the people which finally brought about the liberation of human emotions, both in religion and in art. At last a personal and human interpretation, which might be dimly discerned for several centuries, frankly asserted itself and changed the goal toward which effort was directed.

The triumph of this new human quality was intimately connected with the Franciscan movement and is symbolized in the legend which tells how the image of the Christ Child came to life in the embrace of St. Francis. St. Francis was the embodiment of the Gothic spirit in Italy. The songs of the troubadours of France awoke an echo in him, and he chanted with the birds; the earth became his "mother" and fire and water his servitors; flowers and all the timid creatures of the wilds knew him as their brother. The memorial church raised to St. Francis at Assisi in 1226 was the cradle of the new art, and his life provided material for the painters hardly second in artistic importance to that of the gospels.

On the steep slope of the hill of Assisi the Church of St. Francis

rises in three storeys—the crypt below ground, the lower church, and the upper (cruciform) building. For the decoration of these great wall spaces the best Italian artists were summoned. The lower church is entered from the parching, blinding light of the piazza (Pl. 1c). Perhaps it is a helpful initiation, for the significance of the spot is realized as one waits for sight to be given back. Then in the silence and coolness of the dim interior the round arches make a solemn approach to the altar, standing at the intersection of the arms and body of the Latin cross. Here, in the decoration of transepts and crossing, one of the supreme experiences of all Italy awaits the visitor. Above the altar, against a ground of lapis lazuli, figures in soft pastel shades of ochre, rose, green, and white are massed as if to form a canopy. They seem to vibrate and throb with colour. Wherever the eye may wander over adjoining walls or ceiling, the colour repeats itself. The pigment is water-colour, but its mellow splendour is like that of a rich tapestry. Ornament is everywhere obedient to architectural form, and satisfaction comes largely from a sense of the fitness of things.

A winding stair leads to the upper church. Blashfield has described the transition; it is like passing from the music of the organ to that of the harp. Just as in the lower church, every surface is covered with colour, which now remains as a faint memory where forms have become indecipherable. The walls of choir, apse, and transepts are still a glory of soft colours contrasted with the sudden depth of the ultramarine vaults varied by splotches of brilliant malachite and the orange background of the four Evangelists in the crossing. These same colours are carried down into the nave; in the lower portion, shades of Indian red and rose predominate; all the blues of the upper series have turned to turquoise.

The scenes from the Old and New Testaments and from the life of St. Francis in the nave illustrate the painting of the later years of the thirteenth century. Various hands are discernible in these works, but the problem of authorship need not be entered on here. One of the masterpieces of early art, however, is to be found in the left transept—the "Crucifixion," regarded as the work of the Tuscan painter Cimabue (1240–c. 1301). The reproduction is sufficient to show its deplorable condition (Pl. 2A). Only here and there is any vestige of the original surface found. It looks like the rubbing from an old bronze, the dark parts representing the raised portions. It is difficult in studying the photograph to

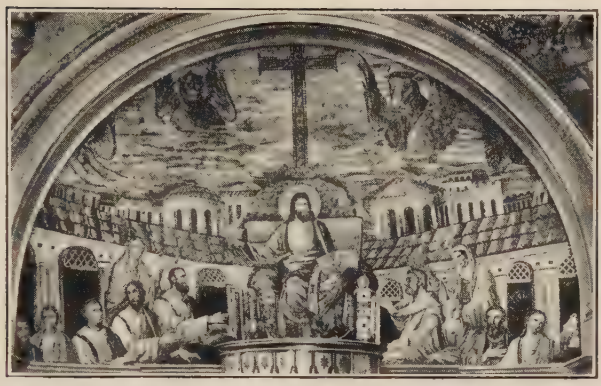
form any conception of the power that in the original makes so profound an impression.

Venturi has given a wonderful description of this "Drama of Golgotha." He speaks of the passion of the Magdalen crying aloud, the centurion proclaiming the divinity of Christ, the priests wrapped in garments stained with the blood of the innocent one, the Christ vanquished by the force of his enemies, the angels "flying in a storm" about the cross. Feeling expresses itself in the tempest of heaven and earth—a violent, intense, crude, human emotion. It is necessary to study the picture attentively, first trying to feel the dramatic intensity and then considering the treatment. The drawing is very powerful. The figures of Mary and John on the left are remarkable in truth of form and largeness of movement. Their clasped hands and the languor of Mary's figure recall classic grave-reliefs. Certain heads show energy and determined characterization. The old Byzantine (Oriental) formula characteristic of medieval art still dominates the painter, but a surge of dramatic intensity is unmistakable. The painting is elemental and has the grandeur that expresses itself through crude and rugged forms.

Cimabue's work shows a close dependence on the tradition inherited from the Middle Ages. This tradition, dignified by the sanction of many generations, had been perfected to express an idea rather than a material fact. There is something about it which is formidable and splendid—it has the value of communal speech. Its strength is the absence of a narrowed personal expression. The prevalence of this common tradition, however, offers serious difficulties in determining the authorship of early paintings. Only one work by Cimabue is documented; this is a mosaic in the Cathedral of Pisa. Among the paintings discussed in connection with his name are pictures attributed by some critics to the contemporary Roman school and by others to Sienese painters.

The most important altar-piece ascribed to Cimabue by general consent is the enthroned Madonna of the Uffizi (Pl. 2B). Medieval formality is modified by more graciousness both in the mother and in the child. Beauty is enhanced by the angels flanking the throne, whose bending action leads the eye by gentle curves to the main group. If we concentrate on the central figures, remembering that the picture is a devotional altar-piece, the symbolic intention becomes evident; and we realize that the artist sought to present an idea rather than an actual group. His symbol of

(*A*) Apse Mosaic. Santa Pudenziana, Rome. (Anderson)



(*B*) Cavallini. Last Judgment (detail). Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome. (Alinari)

(*C*) Lower Church of St. Francis (crossing), Assisi. (Alinari)

(*A*) Cimabue. Crucifixion. Upper Church of St. Francis, Assisi. (Anderson)

(*B*) Cimabue. Madonna Enthroned. Uffizi, Florence. (Anderson)

(*C*) Apse Mosaic, Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (detail), Rome. (Alinari)

the Divine Mother speaks with the authority of the Church. Intense personal quality is felt in the half-length patriarchs beneath the throne, where the "energetic drawing" recalls figures in the Assisi "Crucifixion."

Little is recorded of Cimabue's life. His name has waxed and waned on the pages of modern criticism. His art marked the awakening of Tuscany, and he has been called the Michelangelo of the thirteenth century. Availing himself of the approved tradition, he was able to infuse into it something intense that expressed a racial consciousness and was bound in the end to shake itself free from deadening restrictions.

For a long period, in spite of upheavals and disasters, Rome had been a centre of artistic production, and in the thirteenth century it fostered an important school of mosaicists and painters. The representative Roman artist was Pietro Cavallini (fl. 1250–1330). Cavallini's work survives in mosaics and in a fragmentary wall-painting of the "Last Judgment" which decorated the west wall of the Church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere and is now enclosed in the gallery of the convent connected with the church (Pl. 1B). This work shows that the beauty of classic models appealed to him across the gulf of the Middle Ages. There is a certain gravity, reticence, and sobre dignity about his figures. They are well-proportioned, and the forms are brought out by square-cut masses of light and shadow which convince the eye of their solidity. Drapery folds are simplified, and line is made subordinate to plastic form. Movement is dignified and tranquil. The shapes of the heads and the placing and rendering of the features suggest classic types. The Christ is a majestic judge.

Similar characteristics may be found in Cavallini's mosaics of Santa Maria in Trastevere in spite of the unresponsive material. The "Birth of the Virgin" is especially fine in breadth of handling, expressive drawing, and facial types. It is evident, however, that Cavallini's work is not directed toward new goals or new solutions of old problems. He is not revolutionary, but represents, rather, the end of the early Christian tradition. He received many commissions and seems to have had a large school working, among other places in the upper church of St. Francis at Assisi.

What might have occurred in Rome if the school had continued, we cannot tell. The removal of the papal court to Avignon in the first decade of the fourteenth century marked the end of the Roman school of painting. From this time until the activities of the Renaissance popes, comparatively little work was done in

the city, and the great monuments of the Renaissance were the work of artists summoned from other parts of Italy.

It may be well at this point to mention the technical methods in general use at this time.

Mosaic decoration was brought to its highest perfection by Byzantine workers who through the medieval period executed numerous commissions in Italy. Medieval mosaics were generally made of glass cubes varying in size and set in a bed of cement. The slightly irregular surfaces catch the light like the facets of a gem and enhance the colour effects. It was a costly and magnificent form of interior decoration, suited to the conventions of religious art. With the development of a naturalistic style this medium was gradually abandoned.

Fresco painting was executed directly on the plastered wall (Pl. 1B). The surface to be decorated was prepared for the day's stint by the addition of a thin layer of wet plaster (the intonico). On this surface, while still moist, the painting was executed in earth colours mixed with water. Plaster and pigment dried together and became homogeneous. Any portion of the intonico remaining after the day's work was cut away and a new surface laid the following day. For this fresco painting there is needed, as Vasari says, "a hand that is dextrous, resolute, and rapid, and most of all a sound and perfect judgment." Italian painters were primarily decorators, and mural painting remained in favour for many centuries.

Panel pictures increased in popularity from the twelfth century. They were executed on carefully seasoned panels of poplar wood, often covered with linen to prevent splitting. This was overlaid with a thin coating of gesso (a mixture of lime and marble dust) which was covered with a reddish under-painting and overlaid with gold leaf for the background areas. The colours, ground and prepared in the workshop (bottega) as required, were mixed with egg or some other sticky substance. This method is known as tempera painting and was practised by the Italians until late in the fifteenth century, when experiments in the oil method had become successful (Pl. 2B).

The altar-piece of the early period was a simple gabled panel. Often the figure of a saint was surrounded by scenes from his life. Gradually these narratives were withdrawn from the principal field, and eventually they formed a band below the main panel, like foot-notes on a page. They are known as predella panels.

Scenes related to the principal figures in the altar-piece generally appeared here. By the middle of the fourteenth century elaborate Gothic frames were general, and the altar-piece was made up of numerous panels separated by colonnettes. As naturalism developed, various devices were employed to unite the attendant saints with the main group, and finally architectural partitions were abandoned.

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CHAPTER II

DUCCIO AND THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

The early years of the fourteenth century brought to a culmination the development of painting in Siena. Here as in Rome the awakening sense of beauty led men back to old sources of inspiration; but Siena's affiliations were with the East, her outlet being through the port of Pisa. At the opening of the fourteenth century, the city was at the height of her prosperity and showed an intense feeling for beauty and colour which inspired some of the loveliest art of the century. The forms and conventions of Byzantine art were followed and the result shows what splendour and refinement can be created on a purely decorative scheme.

Italo-Byzantine painting, in contrast to the oriental style, while following the conventions of Byzantine art, generally lost refinement, perfection of technique, and beauty of colour—the qualities of supreme excellence. Duccio, however (active 1279–1319), the founder of the Sienese school, possessed these qualities to so marked a degree that some critics have thought he must have been trained in Constantinople. But there was ample opportunity in the numerous Greek convents in Italy for contact with Byzantine painters as well as models.

Duccio's art is the typical example of the best that the old Byzantine tradition could inspire. He produced pictures whose greatest charm is their decorative beauty; they are design first and then representation. In a sense they take their place with works of cloisonné, with Persian rugs and Japanese prints, but in the best examples there is added the graciousness of the human appeal, "and even in his abstract backgrounds touches of local scenery and architecture are kaleidoscoped in" (Rankin).

Duccio's qualities are illustrated in the altar-piece executed for the Cathedral of Siena in 1308 (Pl. 3c). It had disappeared when Vasari wrote his "Lives of the Painters" in the sixteenth century, but has since been recovered, though dismembered and no longer in its old frame. The central panel representing the Virgin and Child measures seven by fourteen feet. Above and below this monumental enthronement ("Maestà"), small panels illustrating

the Virgin's life enriched the effect. The painting originally was placed on the altar which stood at the intersection of nave and transept and the pictorial decoration adorns both faces. On the reverse the large area is covered with scenes from the life of Christ.[1]

The Florentine type of vertical altar-piece with the enthroned Virgin "looming" against the gold ground as in Cimabue's picture is here exchanged for a low, broad field in which the Virgin is enthroned, surrounded by the hierarchy of angels, patronesses of Siena and saints. Each has his prescribed place in the symmetrical scheme, and once there, is given no chance to move. Such a disposition of masses in bilateral symmetry produces the impression of stability and, by implication, of the qualities of permanence, security, and peace.

Duccio composes by means of line. This furnishes a path of least resistance for the eye through the intricacies of the composition. The unity of his picture is secured by an all-embracing scheme of line carefully thought out—or felt out, for it was probably not a matter of conscious calculation. The skill with which the elements are brought into an orderly and logical relation is the determining factor in achieving a harmonious result.

Duccio makes no attempt by the use of strong contrasts of light and shadow to create bodies of flesh and blood like those of Cavallini, but his drawing reveals an innate grace and rhythm which gives reality to the movements. In spite of anatomical inaccuracies, the Madonna panel is full of lovely details of drawing. By his sinuous flowing line, the painter modifies the austerities of the Byzantine style and creates a mood of gracious melancholy. The flat patterned surfaces which result demand a splendid enrichment by colour. This is one of the supreme beauties of Duccio's work. Without colour illustrations, it is a question whether it is possible to suggest the thrill of the original but this must be attempted.

It may not be amiss at this point to define the terms which must be used in describing colour. Three are particularly important—hue, value, and intensity. Hue is the name by which colour is identified: as blue, orange, red. Value is the quantity of light in a colour from its emergence from the unity of white light to its disappearance in darkness. Intensity is quality of light. This is sometimes called saturation. It is difficult to discriminate between value and intensity. Imagine the yellow of a buttercup beside a

[1] A tentative reconstruction of its original form is illustrated in Weigelt: "Duccio di Buoninsegna" (Pl. 66).

pale straw colour of the same value (the same lightness) and the difference is one of intensity. The buttercup is yellow at its yellowest, its saturation point; straw colour is that same yellow neutralized.

Generally speaking, the old masters made a greater use of intensities than is made today. This was particularly true of primitive painters. The ideals of decorative art were always uppermost. They were not attempting to reproduce effects of nature but to create a design which should present a surface as perfect as enamel and equally durable and brilliant. Gold played an important part in all these effects.

The colour pattern of Duccio's altar-piece resolves itself into the spotting of the halos, and the smouldering richness of the low-toned colours, through which gold runs like Ariadne's thread—now flecked through the design of the fabrics, now creeping along the edge of the draperies like a thin line of fire. Against all this splendour is set the blue of the Virgin's robe—a deep lapis lazuli—and the delicate lilac of the Child's garment studded with stars. In its pinnacled frame, with narrative scenes above and below, what a magnificent effect the painting must have made!

On the reverse, the gold areas of background shine out, throwing the figure groups into silhouetted masses. The "Garden of Gethsemane" is typical in this (Pl. 3B). The sky is an intense red gold. The autumn tones of all the rest are so closely related in value that browns, crimsons, greens, and blues blend in a rich harmony.

It is evident that in photography the picture suffers a complete transformation. Not only is all play of intensities lost, but the values also are falsified. An intense vermilion placed for emphasis at a given point in the composition often becomes an almost black spot in the photograph; a night sky of deep blue photographs in a pale value.

Turning from technical considerations to interpretation, the "Garden of Gethsemane" illustrates a convention in general use during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which is called the narrative method. When the painter is obliged to tell a serial story, he often includes several episodes in one field, even when it necessitates representing the same person more than once. This was not a new idea, but originated in Roman times. Since the function of painting was primarily to recall stories which had to be retained in the memory after being heard, not read, the method was a practical aid. On the whole it has been successfully employed here, the landscape being used to suggest the element of time by

separating the two scenes: Christ speaking with the group of disciples at the left, and kneeling in prayer at the right.

But this landscape presents a difficulty to the modern mind. Why was the painter so incapable of rendering the background with reality? This is a natural question, yet the fourteenth century painter would not have understood such an inquiry. Background was used merely to suggest locality. Much was left to the imagination. Cennino Cennini, who gives the most complete idea of the painter's methods at this time, writes, "If thou wouldst paint mountains in a good style and to look natural, take some large stones full of cracks and copy them." We are reminded of the scenery of the Elizabethan stage. But for the painter, the explanatory function of the background was secondary to its potentialities as pure design. The "cracks" which he copied from his stones were also considered most carefully in relation to the decorative factors in his composition. Problems of spacing and distribution of mass often were solved inimitably.

All the qualities we have been discussing are illustrated in the "Crucifixion" (Pl. 3A). See how beautifully the crosses are spaced against the gold ground and the dignity that is given by their height. These are shapes which stand isolated against light; below is a mass of dark figures; in order to bind the two parts together so that the eye shall realize the unity of the composition, Duccio has utilized the lines of uplifted spears and torches to make the transition—to what effect one may judge by blotting them out. The figure of Christ is drawn with correct proportions and with an exquisite sympathy, and the lines of weeping angels, darting about the cross, almost convey the sensation of motion in the abstract. Possibly the only defect in the composition is the insistence on the space between the foreground groups. The importance of this one altar-piece is so great that it adequately illustrates the achievement of Duccio without the analysis of other works.

Duccio executed commissions in Florence as well as in Siena and many critics now believe that the Rucellai "Madonna" in Santa Maria Novella (Pl. 4A) was painted by him, not by Cimabue. Duccio formed a large school, but those followers who drew their inspiration exclusively from their master never reached his standard of workmanship, his refinement of drawing, or his richness of colour.

When the art of Duccio is described as a development from the Byzantine tradition and that of Cavallini from the Roman, it should not be interpreted to mean that there was no intermingling.

During the early middle ages, the whole of Italy had been dominated by Byzantine formulæ which continued to reappear even as late as the fifteenth century. On the other hand, Italy never quite lost touch with her Greco-Roman inheritance. It is only when we study contemporary painting elsewhere (as in Flanders) that we realize how fundamental this was to her whole method of seeing and interpreting the world.

During the thirteenth century Gothic factors also were apparent in the art of Italy. Minor works of French decorative art, such as ivories, exerted their influence, and the presence in Italy of French builders and sculptors strengthened these tendencies. A comparison of the diverse "manners" resulting from the classic and the Gothic tradition is afforded in the work of the sculptors Nicola and Giovanni Pisano after the middle of the century. The father based his figure drawing and his conception on Greco-Roman marbles; the son infused his forms with an intimacy foreign to the classic style and exemplifying the emotional ardour of the Middle Ages (Pl. 4B, C).

(*A*) Duccio. Crucifixion. Cathedral Museum, Siena. (Alinari)

(*B*) Duccio. Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. Cathedral Museum, Siena. (Alinari)

(*C*) Duccio. Madonna Enthroned. Cathedral Museum, Siena. (Alinari)

(*A*) Attributed to Duccio and to Cimabue. Madonna Enthroned. "The Rucellai Madonna." Santa Maria Novella, Florence. (Alinari)

(*B*) Nicola Pisano. Nativity. Pulpit, Baptistry, Pisa. (Alinari)

(*C*) Giovanni Pisano. Nativity. Pulpit, San Andrea, Pistoia. (Alinari)

CHAPTER III

GIOTTO AND THE CONTEMPORARY SIENESE SCHOOL

Saint Francis, at the opening of the thirteenth century, taught the dignity of everyday life; Dante a hundred years later wrote in the tongue of the common people; and Giotto (1276–1336) in his painting told the Gospel anew in the language of human emotions. Each in his day made a vital contribution toward the recognition of human worth. At this period, "Italy suddenly leaped forward as if she had drained a beaker of champagne" (Sedgwick).

Giotto was the first painter to make a fearless and consistent use of the speech of the people and to give it an epic quality. He belonged to what is called historically the Gothic period. He is generally considered a Gothic painter but it is true of him, as of Dante, that "he lays immense stress on individuality and delineates real life with wonderful vividness. These traits mark him as belonging to the new world coming in rather than to the old world going out" (Sedgwick). At the opening of the fourteenth century he showed characteristics that anticipated the Renaissance. He had a shrewd hard-headedness and a fund of common sense which formed one important source of his dramatic style. He was never deceived by pretence. This side of his character is suggested in the account which Vasari gives of his life, but more convincingly in his own poem on poverty where the philosophy of the man of the world is outlined.

Giotto was born near Florence and according to Vasari was the pupil of Cimabue, but increasing emphasis is now laid on the importance of his early contact with the Roman school. He worked throughout the length and breadth of Italy, and his influence was felt during the whole century. He was architect and sculptor as well as painter and at the time of his death held the office of chief superintendent of the Cathedral of Florence. The campanile which he designed was completed after his death.

Giotto's share in the decoration of the church of St. Francis at Assisi is a matter of dispute. His earliest unquestioned frescos are in the Arena Chapel, Padua. This is a small barnlike room with

an arched ceiling and no architectural mouldings or divisions. Its only claim to be called Gothic is the pointed form of the windows. The painter had a free hand here to show what he could do as interior decorator. In this case, his function involved that of an architect to supply by painting what the actual building lacked. Giotto decorated the ceiling with medallions on the blue field of the vault studded with stars. The lower section of the wall was treated as a dado, painted in grisaille to simulate architectural mouldings. At intervals sculptured panels were represented in which he treated the Virtues and Vices. Above this the side walls were divided into three rows of narrative paintings separated by broad bands of ornament. Executed directly on the wall, these show the usual "pastel" tones of fresco painting. Shades of ochre, pink, and green are unified by areas of azure common to all the scenes.

Here is spread out a great series of pictures illustrating the life of Christ and the Virgin, intelligible to every worshipper. They tell a continuous story, beginning with the history of Joachim and Anna (the Virgin's parents) and terminating on the west wall with the "Last Judgment." Each episode is complete, but the designer has never lost sight of the necessity for leading the eye without fatigue from one picture to the next. All is "facile to the sense of vision." Such decoration fulfilled the destiny indicated as early as the fifth century. Then Paulinus of Nola advocated decorating the church walls with pious scenes to hold the attention of those who otherwise might be tempted to spend the hours between services in some less edifying pursuit. Here "they could feed with their eyes instead of with their lips . . . and learn how satisfying to thirst is sobriety."

If, as Vasari recounts, the Rucellai "Madonna" astonished the people by its reality, what must have been the original effect of those graphic tales which still seem to us so vivid? To the peasant from an outlying village, they must have been as enthralling as the motion picture is today. There was even a likelihood, as with the motion picture, that a man might recognize himself in one of the very scenes, for many of the visitors had without doubt taken part at some time in the mystery and miracle plays which were an education to the public and exercised a direct influence upon pictorial conceptions.

As we examine the paintings, we must be impressed with the wealth of life shown there. The legends are no longer of a past age, a foreign country, a miraculous nature: they are the annals

of the neighbourhood. Giotto treats the sacred stories intimately, but the paintings never become commonplace: they are infused with human emotion, which has no past tense. In the "Presentation of the Virgin" and in the "Nativity," he shows the solicitude of motherhood (Pl. 5A). The variations from the prescribed Byzantine formula in the latter are slight, but the change in spirit is complete. Stereotyped forms are replaced by tender humanity, where the child is passed from hand to hand with lingering touch. In a similar tenderness the contemporary poet sang—

> By thy great and glorious merit
> Mary, Mother, Maid,
> In the firstling newborn child
> All our hopes are laid.

In the "Meeting at the Golden Gate" the embrace of Joachim and Anna suggests their whole life history (Pl. 5C). Look particularly at the expressiveness of the hands. Recall the story of the meeting: Joachim hastening from the sheepfold, Anna from her home, to bear the glad news that miraculously, after the appointed time, they were to have a child! In this picture the composition is admirably centralized, bound together by the architectural setting, suggested perhaps by the Augustan Gate at Perugia.

Careful study will reveal that subtle differences of mood are shown throughout the series. Giotto has no formula for emotion—he shows it as it wells up spontaneously in the individual heart, exultant, tender, grave. These "Songs of Innocence" are charming stories of human relationships: the love of husband and wife, the joy of childhood, marriage, and motherhood. Other qualities are required for the remaining subjects. Can this lyric poet acquit himself equally well in tragedy?

Among the scenes of the Passion, the "Betrayal" stands out with startling vividness (Pl. 5B). The action is vigorous, the gestures forceful and expressive. Note the dense crowd, represented by a few individuals, the spears and clubs and flaming torches suggesting confusion and tumult by their clashing lines. The jarring elements reach their climax in the contrasted heads of Christ and Judas. What other interpretation of the scene equals this in dramatic power?

Certain impersonations of the Vices show what Giotto could embody in allegory. Envy he represents as self-destructive. Thus the vice is laid bare at the root. It is a figure as powerfully delineated as that by Dante in the "Divine Comedy":

Accursed be thou,
Inveterating wolf! whose gorge ingluts more prey
Than every beast beside, yet is not filled,
So bottomless thy maw.

The Paduan frescos represent the most dramatic phase of Giotto's work. The shapes in which he chose to compose and the scale which he selected for his figures obliged him to use few actors. This epitomized rendering intensifies his effect, but the result is not meagre because in the individual he invariably renders the type.

His expression is epigrammatic. Admiration grows with the study of one episode after another. Without exception, the scenes are as vivid as if the artist had been present. He had the actor's ability to portray each part with complete conviction. For this reason his art is never melodramatic. The record he makes is like that of a newspaper reporter who seizes the salient points and lets the rest go. A certain blunt downrightness is found everywhere. There is no sentimentality; the tears he shows are shed by the heart-broken (Pl. 5D). His people do not gesticulate; their every movement is impelled from within. Consider the figure of Christ in the "Raising of Lazarus," or St. John the Evangelist in the "Raising of Drusiana"; there is no posing; power radiates from their action. This integrity gives permanent value to everything he did.

Giotto's knowledge of the human figure was rudimentary but his observation was accurate. If he did not stand on the street corners of Florence with pencil and sketch book, as artists do today, his memory notes were more effective than have been most jottings since his time. He noted the attitudes of passers-by and learned how to transmit the tension and rhythm of the human body by his expressive line.

Giotto's method of seeing was closer to that of Cavallini than to that of Duccio. He had a vivid sense of the reality of form. Its bulk seemed to him important and this he emphasized by every means. His peasant-like figures are stocky and scantily draped; a few lines suffice to mark the area of suspension at shoulder and hip, and light and shade raise them into three-dimensional form. This is well shown in the "Betrayal" (Pl. 5B). Generally the faces are types without individual traits, so that the dramatic thought must be conveyed of necessity through the body.

Greater knowledge would have enabled him to produce images more faithful to the outer aspect of nature, but it would have

contributed very little that is essential. Too little knowledge is better than too much, for the essential is not facts, but contagion, stimulus, an experience of life shared by the spectator: this is what Berenson terms the life enhancing quality in art. For proper appreciation our own bodies must become our laboratories. If the painter, or the actor, fails to make us share the experience he has projected into material form, he has missed the one thing which justifies his labours.

Such figures as Giotto represented require a certain amount of space in which to move, and the artist constructs a shallow stage which gives them sufficient room. The setting is so limited in *depth* (the third dimension) that it may well be called painting in two dimensions (low relief). The picture is like a tableau crowded up to the footlights with only the space of ground necessary to the support of the actors, and a setting of architecture or landscape bent up at right angles to form a background. Although shallow, the spatial relations are actually apparent to the eye rather than symbolically indicated—as, for instance, by Duccio (Pl. 5A, 3B).

In some of the simpler examples background accessory is practically eliminated and the groups are raised from the conventional blue field in an almost sculpturesque fashion (see the "Visitation"). One of the most beautiful examples of this type is the stately "Return of the Virgin to her Home." More richly dressed than usual, she moves majestically to the sound of bridal music. The painting has well been compared to a hymn since its rhythmic cadence is so strong. The measured progression of the figures seems to result from the alternation of wide and narrow spacing in the arrangement of the folds of the drapery. Spirit and method both suggest a comparison with groups on the Parthenon frieze.

Following the completion of the work in Padua, Giotto executed commissions in various parts of Italy. His influence was widespread. Everywhere the naturalistic aspects of his work found enthusiastic admirers, even if the great quality of his design was often overlooked.

Shortly after the termination of the Paduan frescos may be placed the "Madonna Enthroned" in the Uffizi, a most important altar-piece by Giotto. It hangs in the same room with Cimabue's "Madonna" and a comparison of the two shows clearly the advance in naturalism and the inevitable loss of the mystic element of medieval painting.

The authorship of the Stefaneschi altar-piece, formerly in

the Sacristy of St. Peter's, Rome, is a matter of dispute.[1] The hieratic majesty of the older art is combined with a grace and emotional intensity which have led to its attribution to a follower of Giotto influenced by Sienese painting. The majesty of the enthroned Christ, the beauty of design in the treatment of the side panels, and the splendid colour, make this one of the most superb altar-pieces of the century.

Certain changes in conception and composition appear in Giotto's later works in Santa Croce, where he decorated several chapels. Of these the frescos of the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels still remain, though they have suffered to some extent from repainting. The pictures are rectangular in shape and the figures more numerous than in Padua. They are less stocky, the garments longer and more flowing. The backgrounds have become an integral part of the design, but they are as frankly a conventional staging as before. The composition is more studied and the dignity of the "grand style" compensates for what is sacrificed of dramatic brevity. Very fine examples are the "Raising of Drusiana," the "Ascension of St. John the Divine," and the "Death of St. Francis" (Pl. 5D). In the latter, the lines of composition bind the group of mourners about the body of the saint. Waves of grief seem to break over the bier. The standing monks at either end stabilize the composition and make a structural framework about the intimate scene. The arrangement is so simple that it seems casual at first sight; the perfect adjustment of the parts is realized only by considering the result of any change. What would happen if the banner bearer grew tired and lowered the cross? What if an individual in the central group were diverted for a moment from St. Francis' face? What if the convent wall had not been panelled? What if the acolyte had not worn white? No hard and fast calculation gave this result; it was the culmination of lifelong practice—a practice beginning with apprenticeship to Cimabue, or some other painter, grinding and preparing colour, watching and judging the master's success in its use, the laying in of minor parts, and finally, the youthful independent works. Such training was of immense value to the world.

The change which Giotto brought into art is indeed comparable to the substitution of the Italian for the Latin language, and the parallel is all the closer because we are conscious in both of the derivation from the classic sources. The moderation of Giotto

[1] By certain critics it is still regarded as the work of Giotto, by others it is attributed to a close follower.

both in conception and style makes him the connecting link between the Greco-Roman tradition and the Renaissance.

While Giotto in the Florentine school was laying the foundation for a new study of nature, painting in Siena was carried forward by Simone Martini (c. 1285–1344) who delighted in aristocratic splendour and elegance. He was a pupil of Duccio and his style was based on that of his master, but this eastern tradition was united in his work with Gothic feeling for line and rhythm. At the same time the influence of Giotto led him in some instances to endow his figures with an unusual degree of plasticity.

Simone's earliest painting is a direct derivative of Duccio's "Maestà" and yet a picture with an entirely new spirit (Pl. 6c). This is partly the result of the altered spatial relations and of the festive character of the Gothic throne but chiefly of the impassioned feeling. Duccio's panel is meditative, almost sad in sentiment; the saints worship silently as they have worshipped for centuries. Devoutly as they bend their heads to conform to the limits of the field, there is a feeling of repression.

In Simone, all this is changed. The open space above the group gives a sense of freedom, and by the same means the Virgin is set apart from her court. She is no longer the impersonal product of an old tradition. She has become "Our Lady." "Well may such a lady God's mother be." The saints no longer stand as passive attendants. They have suddenly awakened to intense activity; they lose their identity in the fervour of their emotion; they pour out all their personal life in some act of devotion. The sentiment is identical with that which inspired the medieval hymns—

> There grief is turned to pleasure,
> Such pleasure as below
> No human voice can utter,
> No human heart can know.

Little remains of the original colour, which, however, may be inferred from other examples of Simone's art.

As Giotto's life was drawing to a close, Simone was engaged upon the decoration of the chapel of St. Martin of Tours in the church of St. Francis of Assisi. The story of the warrior saint was exactly suited to his love of ceremony. The "Arming of the Knight" (Pl. 6A) may well have perpetuated the ceremony in which the painter himself received knighthood. This picture and St. Martin's "Advance against the Enemy," protected by the cross

alone, bring us closer to the age of chivalry than any contemporary work. This is the very temper of St. Louis.

Simone is believed to have visited Naples. At that cosmopolitan court he may have found models for the Teutonic types appearing in this work which are startling in their individuality. The group of minstrels in the arming scene might well have been inspired by minnesingers from beyond the Alps. A high degree of ability in portraiture, not equalled in Italian painting for a hundred years, is shown in all his work.

Simone is not altogether at ease in narrative or in the grouping of numerous figures, and the simpler scenes in which there are only one or two figures are the most successful, such, for instance, as "St. Martin in a Trance." In the single figures of St. Clara and St. Elizabeth, he contrasts the nun and the court lady. Although the figures are admirably drawn, it is the problem of abstract design even here that enthralls him. The movement of draperies, the answering balance between the two figures, and their relation to the painted Gothic niches is a supremely fine example of design —perhaps originally inspired by the study of Gothic ivories (van Marle).

Simone was one of the greatest colourists of the early Italian school. In his small narrative panels, inferiority of composition is atoned for by the sparkling brilliance of a scheme in which almost every colour of the spectrum is used in full intensity. This is illustrated in the Passion scenes in Berlin and Paris. But even his frescos attain something of the intensity which was so much a part of himself that he was able to produce skies more splendid than lapis lazuli and Gothic interiors rivalling the colour of old ivory.

Like Duccio, Simone expressed himself best through line, but a line far more compelling and far more insistent than that employed by Duccio. All his characteristics are illustrated in the "Crowning of King Robert," where incident has become ceremony and been given an almost denaturalized expression, "a ritual expression exactly analogous to music" (Rankin). This panel has marvellous beauty of pattern. The balance is subtly maintained and the intensely vital contour has the finality of cloisonné. Scale in the ornament is used with perfection of taste, and the colour scheme of black, gold, and old rose is as original as are the other features. No doubt the types, with their greatly elongated form, and the affectation of the saints' gestures are disturbing at first, but they cannot obscure the extraordinary beauty of this masterpiece of pure design.

(*A*) Giotto. Nativity. Arena Chapel, Padua. (Alinari)

(*B*) Giotto. Betrayal. Arena Chapel, Padua. (Alinari)

(*C*) Giotto. Meeting of Joachim and Anna (detail). Arena Chapel, Padua. (Alinari)

(*D*) Giotto. Death of St. Francis. Santa Croce, Florence. (Alinari)

PLATE 6

(*A*) Simone Martini. Arming of St. Martin. Church of St. Francis, Assisi. (Anderson)

(*B*) Simone Martini. Annunciation. Uffizi, Florence. (Anderson)

(*C*) Simone Martini. Madonna Enthroned. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. (Alinari)

Similar qualities are seen in the more familiar "Annunciation" of the Uffizi, one of Simone's last works (Pl. 6B). Line is dominant. The eye follows its sinuous flow with perfect delight and is indifferent to the inconveniences imposed on human anatomy. In such a picture, human beings have no right to material bodies. The painter deals with them as non-existent. The Virgin fits her shape as best she may, for she is a unit of pure design and her restricted expressiveness is conditioned by its demands.

Simone was not an artist with as rich an appeal as Giotto, but his quality was unique and his method in adapting linear design to the expression of objective form found disciples in later art and persisted in Italy until his true successor appeared at the end of the fifteenth century in Botticelli. The painter's later years were spent at the Papal court at Avignon and as a result his influence on European art was enormous—it "practically amounted to the founding of a school" (Offner). Van Marle says, "There is not one French painting of the fourteenth century in which Simone's influence cannot be detected . . . we find in all that peculiar spiritual and Gothic grace which Simone may have borrowed from French sculpture, but which he transmuted into painting . . . the French . . . promptly accepted it and incorporated it in their own art." His line finally acquired the studied forms and complex melodies which drifted back into Italy in what is known as the International style.

Painting in Siena, after Simone's departure, was carried on by Pietro (active 1305–1348), and Ambrogio Lorenzetti (active 1323–1348). Pietro was a vigorous draughtsman and an innovator in the treatment of landscape. His forms were rugged and sometimes heavy, as in the "Crucifixion" (Siena) or the Passion scenes of the left transept of the lower church of St. Francis of Assisi. At other times, he used an abstract pattern of line, as in the "Assumption" in the Gallery of Siena. The mystic content is the real subject in his Madonna pictures, the most beautiful being the fresco in Assisi. The sad foreboding of the Madonna does not give way to the efforts of the Child, however engaging he may be. Ambrogio was a man of fine intellect and a gifted painter. The beauty of colour and sense for splendour which he inherited were modified by a feeling for plastic form owing to the influence of Giotto. In certain works, he attempts to unify his figures with the setting, showing a new feeling for spatial relations which influenced later painters. His facial types have a strange, almost oriental character, and his Madonna is given poignance

by the suggestion that beneath the aloofness of her hieratic pose there is suppressed emotion. Among the simpler examples are the "Madonna del Latte" (Oratorio adjoining San Francesco, Siena) and the "Madonna Enthroned" (Gallery, Siena).

Ambrogio decorated the Sala della Pace in the Palazzo Pubblico in which were represented the attributes of justice and the results of good and bad government. The best preserved of these wall decorations is "Good Government," which is illustrated in an extended picture showing life in the city and in the country. The chronicle of a typical day in the fourteenth century makes the picture important as an historical record. The view of the city with recognizable buildings and the contrada beyond the wall form the background and furnish the continuity essential in holding together the loose procession of events. The treatment is episodic, individual groups having great charm. The landscape here is remarkable in truth of general aspect; indeed landscape motives are notable in the work of both the Lorenzetti. With the death of these painters about the middle of the fourteenth century, the naturalistic phase of Sienese art ended.

The contrast between the interests natural to the Florentine and to the Sienese painter is strong at this time. It is clearly seen in comparing Giotto's normal peasants, Simone's saints quivering with feeling, and Pietro Lorenzetti's brooding Madonnas. Giotto inhabited an everyday world; Simone associated with knights and high-born ladies. Giotto pictured human nature as it is; the Sienese invented a world of fantasy, poetry, and mysticism. Giotto seldom varied his facial type, while both Simone and the Lorenzetti showed individualized features and at times naturalistic portraits. Technically the differences were just as great between the Florentine, for whom plastic form was the essential, and the Sienese, whose vision of nature was usually arrived at through the convention of line. The two modes of expression were destined to exercise reciprocal influence during the remaining years of the fourteenth century and gradually to deteriorate. Plastic form grew weaker until in the pale contrasts at the end of the century it seemed to lose all semblance of reality, and line, interpretative and decorative, became mechanical and finally degenerated into mere calligraphy.

CHAPTER IV

THE TREND OF PAINTING IN THE LATER FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The first creative period of Italian art ended in 1348, the year of the Black Death which has been called "an historical landmark between two ages" (Symonds). The demoralization which followed was experienced in every department of life. In Siena three-quarters of the population perished, the prosperity of the city became a thing of the past, and the race with Florence for supremacy was over.

In Florence the plague was less severe, but here also it was followed by a decline in manners and morals and an enfeeblement of civic order. The lowered ideals in painting in the second half of the fourteenth century correspond to those in letters. As Dante and Petrarch were succeeded by Boccaccio, so was Giotto by the decorators of the Spanish Chapel. The decline was recognized at the time. Thus, Sacchette, writing in the second half of the century, puts into the mouth of Taddeo Gaddi the words: "There have certainly been plenty of able painters . . . but this art has grown and is growing worse and worse every day" (Sirén).

Cennino Cennini is careful to give his artistic pedigree in the opening of his treatise which he dedicated to the saints "and in reverence of Giotto, of Taddeo, and of Agnolo, the master of Cennino." He recommends a technical method by saying that it was learned by Agnolo from Taddeo and practised by Giotto. Giotto's name became a fetish, and recognition of his superiority led to imitation. At the end of the fifteenth century Leonardo wrote, "After the time of Giotto, the art of painting declined again because everyone imitated the pictures that were already done."

Taddeo Gaddi (c. 1300–1366) himself was a direct pupil of Giotto, and in comparing his cycle from the life of the Virgin and Christ in the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce with that of his master, the loss of poetry and significance of interpretation, of simplicity and coherence of composition, of correct proportions and expressive figure drawing, shows the weakness of a man who has taken tradition rather than experience as his guide (Pl. 7B).

Elsewhere he proves his ability as a colourist and in his panel pictures often reaches a high degree of beauty (see the excellent example in the Metropolitan Museum).

Among the most beautiful works of the first half of the fourteenth century are the decorations in the crossing and north transept of the lower church of St. Francis in Assisi (Pl. 1c). These paintings are regarded as works of Giotto's immediate followers. They show a greater sweetness and loveliness, a grace and refinement which do not suggest the same vigorous hand as the Paduan series. The complicated allegorical rendering of the "Vows" at the crossing of the lower church contrasts with the dramatic simplicity of Giotto's "Virtues and Vices" and indicates the later trend towards doctrinal subjects. But these pictures have not only touches of humour which are thoroughly Giottesque but also a very high poetic quality combined with naturalistic incident. They are in excellent preservation. Nowhere can we better appreciate what effect the churches must originally have given in which, as in this case, a perfect feeling for harmony of tone bound together the diverse colours in a unity which is really symphonic. The colour has a life of its own quite indescribable apart from the physical sensations it awakens.

The art of the second half of the century shows the mingling of Florentine and Sienese tendencies. Realization of the figure as plastic mass and consequent suppression of non-essentials were the true heritage from Giotto, while Sienese influence tended towards a more decorative treatment and "painterly" rather than plastic emphasis, a descriptive rather than a dramatic narrative style. Greater delicacy appeared in facial types and more grace and melody of line in the arrangement of draperies.

The series from the life of San Silvestro in Santa Croce, generally attributed to Giottino (middle of fourteenth century), shows the mingling of the two tendencies. In spite of the difficulties offered by the subject matter, great nobility has been given to the principal figure, which is simple and expressive in drawing. The surroundings are more important than before and are brought into sympathy with the mood of the scene. In this respect the painter anticipates Masaccio. The emphasis on spatial effects seems to show the influence of Ambrogio Lorenzetti.

The doctrinal tendencies of the day are well shown in the decorations of the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella, built 1350–1355 for the use of Spanish Dominicans in Florence. The scenes on the ceiling symbolize the constant presence of Christ

(*A*) Andrea da Firenze. St. Thomas Aquinas Enthroned. Spanish Chapel, S. M. Novella, Florence. (Anderson)

(*B*) Taddeo Gaddi. Meeting of Joachim and Anna. S. Croce, Florence. (Alinari)

(*C*) Agnolo Gaddi. Story of the True Cross. S. Croce, Florence. (Alinari)

(*A*) Andrea da Firenze. Church Militant and Triumphant. Spanish Chapel, S. M. Novella, Florence. (Anderson)

(*B*) Unknown artist. Triumph of Death (detail). Campo Santo, Pisa. (Alinari)

(*C*) Orcagna. Paradise (detail). S. M. Novella, Florence. (Alinari)

in the church, the altar-wall is decorated with the Crucifixion, but interest centres on the walls devoted to theological allegories "based on the works of St. Thomas Aquinas" (Pl. 7A). On one wall the saint is enthroned in an immense Gothic structure and about him are shown the sources of his inspiration. Inspired by Christ, attended by the Cardinal Virtues, flanked by great teachers and prophets, fortified by the Arts and Sciences, the Scholastic holds his open book, from which rays of gold emblematic of his divine wisdom strike to the earth the pagan philosophers at his footstool. It is a diagrammatic statement in which little in the way of interpretation is needed. The figures are hieroglyphics. The symmetrical arrangement and the ornamental tracery of the Gothic canopy, combined with the silvery colours of the fresco, give it much charm.

On the opposite wall is represented the "Church Militant and Triumphant" (Pl. 8A), where the figures are dispersed over the field in a flat pattern suggesting tapestry design. At the left, the emperor and the pope—heads of the State and of the Church—are raised on a double throne and at their feet the "lambs" of the flock rest, secure, in the protection of black and white hounds (*Domini canes*). Groups of the painter's contemporaries (many of them named by Vasari) fill the foreground, and behind them rises the Florentine cathedral which, it is interesting to note, the painter has carried to completion, the dome of the building being unfinished at this time. Giotto's tower may also be recognized, although in the interests of the composition it has been moved behind the cathedral. In the right foreground, Dominican preachers, attended by their hounds, refute the teaching of the heretics, who are shown tearing the leaves from their books with commendable energy. In the upper part of the lunette, the Church Triumphant is represented, with Christ in the centre surrounded by the redeemed. A garden landscape connects the two parts and miniature souls are crowned by angels as they pass two by two through the portal of heaven, suspended in midair and guarded by Peter with a great key.

The decorations of this chapel make no demand upon our attention by their intrinsic importance, since they belong to the art of embellishment rather than to that of representation. The room which Ruskin called the "Vaulted Book" is one of the most pleasing in general effect of the period. The treatment of allegory here given is in a lyric vein; in the Campo Santo at Pisa is a dramatic allegory, the "Triumph of Death," painted by an unknown

artist strongly influenced by Pietro Lorenzetti. In this painting the active life is contrasted with the contemplative life, the life of pleasure with the life of prayer. The "Last Judgment and Hell," on the adjoining wall, stresses its teachings in a cogent manner. Death the great leveller is inevitable; how, the author asks, must we live today in order to attain eternal bliss hereafter? Or rather, how must we live today in order to escape the unquenchable fire of Hell, flames from which are seen darting out of the mountain side to engulf the unhappy souls borne by demon messengers? The great fresco presents a confusing juxtaposition of groups, but the argument is crystallized in two main incidents which are among the most powerful expressions of any period.

On the left is illustrated the tale of the hunting party of lords and ladies whose gay progress is suddenly arrested by the sight of three coffins in which, in various stages of decomposition, appear the bodies of three kings (Pl. 8B). While the onlookers stand paralysed with horror, a monk descends with deliberate tread from the pastoral retreat in the hills above, and with a great scroll, prepares to take advantage of their terror-stricken remorse. Here is shown with admirable force "the shuddering aversion, mingled with more shuddering fascination, with which men of the day contemplated the decay of the fair tenement they so delicately cherished" (Vida Scudder). The horror is contagious. On the right is a garden party cut off by its shade trees from the surrounding scenes of death. Such an irresponsible and fashionable company as these were those pleasure-lovers of Boccaccio who a few years earlier assembled in the gardens of Fiesole to tell their Hundred Tales while the victims of the plague blocked the streets of Florence. A spirit very like that of Boccaccio inspired the painter in his portrayal of these ladies fondling their lap-dogs or coyly eyeing their suitors as they touch the strings of their guitars. The life of the senses is made very seductive in these rounded bodies with their rich, clinging draperies. But if they think to escape they are mistaken. Down upon the garden swoops the bat-winged figure of Death with her scythe!

With a vivid sense of the irony of life, the artist has flanked this scene with a wretched group of the halt, the lame, and the blind, who cry fruitlessly to Death for liberation. The unknown author of these frescos has illustrated the teachings of the church but he has made no attempt to conceal the enigma of the universe: it is expressed throughout his presentation with crude force.

The dramatic ability of this painter and his reiteration of the

theme from various angles enable him to reach our intelligence in plastic language, but, feeling uncertain whether the full import of his message will be grasped, he enforces it by written scrolls at two points.

The painter is out of his depth in subjects which are intended to convey a moral lesson instead of an esthetic truth, and fourteenth century art is full of examples in which the written word is a necessary accompaniment of the visual image. When this is the case, the province of moralizing and that of the arts have been confused. For the painter only such ideas are legitimate as can be conveyed best through the graphic arts, or, more properly, the arts of space. There are certain conceptions, like that of Hell, which, by the nature of the case, can never be successfully shown in immobile images. Hell becomes both static and grotesque in a painting, whereas the same subject in an art of time, like poetry, acquires a tremendous potency from the character of the medium. Dante's images are created and dispelled and re-created until the imagination is overwhelmed by the accumulated horror (Griggs).

The Florentine plastic tradition was sustained in the face of other tendencies by Orcagna (1308[?]–1368) who bridged the gulf between Giotto and Masaccio. Like Giotto, Orcagna was an architect and sculptor as well as a painter, and the reliefs on his tabernacle in Or San Michele help us to appreciate the importance of his influence as the "head of a great artistic family" (Venturi). Because Tuscan painting was throughout its course in close alliance with contemporary sculpture, its evolution is intelligible only by constant reference to the work of the sculptors.

In the tabernacle of Or San Michele, Orcagna created one of the most perfect architectural monuments of the fourteenth century. He was registered earlier as a painter than as a sculptor and in all his work his severe figure style is given relief and charm by the use of colour. In the tabernacle, the charm is enhanced by an inlay of coloured glass; in the Strozzi altar-piece colour softens the stern silhouettes.

Since he was architect as well as sculptor, a clear and coherent arrangement was Orcagna's first concern. This is illustrated in the important decorations of the Strozzi Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, certainly executed under his direction if not entirely by his hand. In the "Paradise," the redeemed are arranged in serried ranks with no attempt at a natural setting. It is a perfectly flat all-over decoration varied by colour and by facial types of great beauty. The central figures of Christ and the Virgin are on a

larger scale than the saints and separated from them by the structure of the throne. Orcagna's study of figure drawing is illustrated here, suggesting the use of the model. With each stroke, he seems to consider what is the most direct and economical means by which to attain a complete realization of plasticity (tactile values). This is more apparent in the treatment of the draperies than elsewhere. The figures acquire increased reality as a result of the drapery, an achievement that could hardly be claimed for the work of any other artist before the fifteenth century. The folds are more ample than in Giotto, but there is none of the fourteenth century tendency towards flourishes. It is the conscious study of naturalistic form—an exact gauging of the lines and folds which will give the true impression of life (Pl. 8c).

In the Strozzi altar-piece, one of the most magnificent of the fourteenth century (Offner), he is working on a problem of monumental design, and the structural feeling of the architect is almost as apparent as in the building of the tabernacle. Compared with contemporary altar-pieces Orcagna has made a decided advance in unification by omitting the colonnettes and by throwing the pyramidal line of the central group far to right and left. This broad effect is enhanced by the shape and space filling of the beautiful predella panels, so large and free in composition. Perhaps it is the strong colour contrasts that give a somewhat insistent icon-like silhouette to the Christ. The seraphim, arranged like a leaf and chrysalis guilloche, are archaic and have none of the beauty of his angels. There is clear characterization in the types, but the portrait studies are less striking than those in the sculptured panels from the life of Mary on the tabernacle.

During the whole century altar-pieces were painted and the churches of Italy still contain numberless reminders of this lovely art.

Bernardo Daddi (1299[?]–1338), who was working shortly before the middle of the century, is called by Sirén "the most distinguished representative of Sienese pictorial style in Florentine art." An early example attributed to him may be seen in the New York Historical Society. The picture is a diptych (two panels) representing the "Virgin Enthroned" and the "Last Judgment." This is the earliest panel extant in which the Last Judgment is treated by a Florentine painter (Offner). In this subject the influence of Giotto is apparent while the Madonna recalls Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Solidity of form is united with great decorative beauty in spacing, rhythm of line and colour—a splendid scheme of crim-

son, gold, blue, and copper. Mr. Offner's phrase characterizes the picture exactly; it is a "monumental miniature."

The Metropolitan Museum possesses a rare example of the period in the painting attributed to Spinello Aretino (1333[?]–1410) which is believed to be a unique surviving example of the processional banner of the fourteenth century. Spinello in this instance shows strong affinity to Orcagna. The correct proportions of the figure and the realization of plastic qualities are unusual in a design treated with such formality as the Magdalen who, clad in vermilion, sits enthroned in a frontal position against the gold ground. As chief of penitents she is the patron saint of the order of San Sepolcro which is represented by the flagellants kneeling at her feet. The effectiveness of such a design can well be imagined, carried through the streets during Holy Week in penitential procession.

The last quarter of the fourteenth century is represented in wall-painting by narrative scenes executed by Antonio Veneziano (fourteenth century) in Pisa and by Agnolo Gaddi (1333–1396) in Santa Croce. In both, the Giottesque style appears in an attenuated form.

By reason of "his technical achievements in design and colour" van Marle regards Antonio as "the most important link between the Giottesque tradition under Sienese influence and the first generation of fourteenth century artists."

In Agnolo Gaddi's work in the choir of Santa Croce, the story of the True Cross is told with childlike incoherence. The composition is crowded with little figures taking a "busy" interest in what is going on. A fragile delicacy is seen in the female types and the line is graceful but has already become calligraphic, lacking both expressive quality and rhythm. A more ambitious landscape is attempted, without conspicuous success, as the lack of verisimilitude is correspondingly apparent (Pl. 7c). (Notice the little monk tightly fitted in between the sides of the bridge.)

Lorenzo Monaco (1370–1425) has been called the last artist of talent among the Giotteschi. In his panel pictures, the interest is almost purely decorative. His linear rhythms are inherited, with an evident interval of time, from Simone, and his altar-piece in Santa Trinità is a direct derivative from Simone's "Annunciation." Humanized motives are subordinated to the dignity derived from the Sienese tradition. His colour is distinctive in its play of hepatica and lilac hues, and the strong blue-blacks of drapery masses shown against beautiful gold grounds. By juxtaposition,

delicacy of effect is attained with colours in reality strong. Lorenzo's frescos in the Bartolini Chapel of Santa Trinità are among the most charming of fourteenth century survivals. These scenes from the life of the Virgin illustrate well his personal feeling for beauty. Lorenzo Monaco lived until 1425, but there is no hint in his work of the dawn of a new epoch.

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CHAPTER V

THE EARLY RENAISSANCE IN FLORENCE

With the opening of the fifteenth century a great tide of creative life arose. Society was no longer a compact social unit. Man suddenly awoke to his power as an individual. A new rationalizing spirit was abroad. This exalted moment was expressed in sculpture by Donatello and in painting by Masaccio. In order to share the outlook of their contemporaries, let us imagine ourselves brought up on such fairy-tales as Agnolo Gaddi's "Story of the True Cross" or the theoretic treatises of the Spanish Chapel.

Turning from these works to the frescos of the Brancacci Chapel, decorated in the first quarter of the fifteenth century by Masaccio (1401–1428), we face reality as we have not faced it since Roman days. Without the necessity for any readjustment of a twentieth century habit of mind, we could step across the barrier and join the central group of the "Tribute Money" (Pl. 10A). If it were our aim to take a snapshot of such a group we should choose just this moment—for note how, in the natural swaying of this group of people, it happens that every one of the faces is visible. In another instant some one will surely turn, or intervene, but now we have them at the propitious moment.

Three separate and consecutive episodes are treated here, frankly divided into groups and yet so admirably interrelated that the picture would suffer if any part were cut away. It is an organic whole; no member can be lopped off without a vital injury.

The Apostles press around the central figure in order to hear his reply to the tax-gatherer who has demanded the payment which they are unable to make. Christ has just instructed Peter to go to the lake and take the coin from the fish's mouth. The Apostle's gesture seems to indicate his questioning reiteration of the directions. At the left we see him bending over the fish at the edge of the water, and on the right paying the money to the tax-gatherer. Notice that the narrative requires the repetition of Peter and the tax-collector to complete the sequence of events, yet this has been effected without disturbing the unity of the picture.

The advance in naturalism over earlier work is immense. One of the devices which gives reality is the point of sight chosen. Our eyes are at the same level as those of the group. Perspective relationship is conveyed by the placing of the feet on the ground. We might construct a ground-plan which would reveal the utilization of depth in a manner less like that of the stage than heretofore. The settings, architectural and landscape, are no longer stage properties brought in for the occasion, but suggest actual surroundings in correct proportion to the figures. Masaccio is illustrating the life of Peter, a life of which surprisingly few episodes are recorded, and which has seldom been treated, even in Roman Catholic decoration.

The incident in itself is in no way significant. Most artists of the day would have interpreted it as a miracle, little more significant than a sleight-of-hand trick. By Masaccio, as by all great men, the trivial is made interpretative. The incident becomes a commentary on personal leadership in which there is no vestige of the supernatural or of the ecclesiastical. The men have been drawn, from fish-net or seat of customs, because the attraction was irresistible. Masaccio gives expression to the momentous discovery of the Renaissance. Before Pico della Mirandola, he proclaims, "Thou hast within thee the power of an eternal life." Through this minor episode he interprets the humanistic outlook of his age.

In the years immediately preceding Masaccio, energy had been frittered away on so many side issues that one thing came to appear as important as another in the eyes of the painters, who showed a conglomeration of objective forms, more or less organized. Masaccio is intent upon a subjective message. His thoughts must reach us at the burning point; consequently, he returns to the figure arts pure and simple—to the body. About these massive shoulders are thrown cloaks of heavy stuff, falling by their own weight into deep, simple folds, entirely unornamented. They are no impediment to the realization of bodily form and movement. Masaccio makes no empty statement of movement, he makes us feel in our bodies the tension experienced by each of the figures, which are represented as solid, three-dimensional bodies. He builds them up in their main forms as he has seen them, visual images, constructed, however, from intuitive rather than from scientific knowledge. Coming suddenly upon these people after concentrating on fourteenth century art gives almost a shock. They make the earlier figures seem vaporous, so

(*A*) Masaccio. St. Peter healing the Sick by his Shadow. Brancacci Chapel, S. M. del Carmine, Florence. (Alinari)

(*B*) Masaccio. Expulsion. Brancacci Chapel, S. M. del Carmine, Florence. (Alinari)

(*C*) Masolino. Feast of Herod. Baptistry, Castiglione d' Olona. (Alinari)

(*A*) Masaccio. Tribute Money. Brancacci Chapel, S. M. del Carmine, Florence. (Alinari)

(*B*) Masolino. Raising of Tabitha. Brancacci Chapel, S. M. del Carmine, Florence. (Anderson)

(*C*) Masaccio and Filippino Lippi. Raising of the King's Son. Brancacci Chapel, S. M. del Carmine, Florence. (Alinari)

boldly are they defined by broad planes of light and shadow, which the late fourteenth century painters had subordinated to a calligraphic outline. The earlier painters were afraid of attempting the line of demarcation where light and shadow meet, of attacking the terrible facts of sight. The transition is like passing from a dim corridor into a brightly lighted interior. By bringing painting back to this plastic basis, Masaccio laid the foundation for the evolution of European art in its entirety from his time to the present day.

Van Marle points out that the action of Giotto's figures was in general parallel with the plane of the wall. Masaccio makes a greater use of foreshortening. On this account, the figures require a greater depth than Giotto's in which to move. This the background affords. Mr. Offner shows that Giotto's space extended forward from a plane immediately behind his figures but that in Masaccio the figures, which bear very much the same relation to the picture plane, are suddenly set out in a freer air by the pushing back of the distance. The first he calls "room," the second "space."

This use of space makes of the group a more independent entity than before and we are led to a study of its organization as plastic mass. The figures bear a relation to the group similar to that which the individual parts of the figure bear to one another. Masaccio has composed on the basis of the group, the individual being subordinated as required. The large scale of the figures for the extended field and the compact coherence of the rectangular mass give weight and force. The enlarged space also modifies the handling of the elements composing the background. Although the surface of the "Tribute Money" is in bad condition and the forms obscure, it is still clearly evident that Masaccio's pictorial vision has been consistently used here as elsewhere. The landscape becomes a sensuous and emotional factor in the composition. Such a treatment is not found again before Leonardo. Although it was realized as desirable by such men as Piero della Francesca, the choice of forms was too largely conditioned in their work by an actual place or peculiar section of the country to be entirely satisfying. Masaccio's mountain lines are dictated by his pictorial needs, not by a specific locality.

It might be said that all that is essential to the understanding of the figure arts is contained in this one picture. The fact that it never fails to stir the imagination, is convincing evidence of the potency with which creative vision may endow external form.

"Masaccio," writes Leonardo, "showed by his perfect works how those who take for their standard any one but nature—the mistress of all masters—weary themselves in vain."

The decoration of the Brancacci Chapel as a whole is an important example of the Florentine Renaissance, but the interior can never have been completely successful. The space is too cramped and the great figure designs not sufficiently relieved by decorative setting in painted pilasters, mouldings, etc. The figures are almost like great fragments which we should like to set in a proper architectural framework.

Vasari tells us that the decoration of this chapel, dedicated in 1422, was begun by Masolino, who, after executing a small part, dropped the work for some reason (not his death, we now know). The painting was continued by his pupil Masaccio who died before finishing it. After an interval of sixty years the completion of the interior was put into the hands of Filippino Lippi, upon whom the mantle of Elijah seems to have fallen. It is a remarkable fact that the casual visitor would be quite unconscious of any interval of time or change of authorship.

Below the "Tribute Money" is the picture left unfinished by Masaccio and completed by Filippino (Pl. 10c). With a close study of the original, or even of photographs, distinct differences of style and execution are easily recognized, and we can follow the critics in their assignment of the various parts of the picture to Masaccio and Filippino. This is not surprising; the astonishing fact is that two men so different in temperament and separated by a period of years in which scientific knowledge advanced as at no other time, could have produced so unified a result.

If Masaccio executed the parts generally attributed to him, we must assume that he had prepared sketches of the entire composition which were not essentially modified by Filippino. In the "Tribute Money," although three incidents are treated in the narrative style, the main figure, that of Christ, is represented once only. It is impossible, in showing two moments in which Peter is the principal actor, to avoid a certain incongruity, alien to the conception of a dramatic painting. Masaccio has managed, however, to lead the eye and the thought from the act of power at the left, where Peter resuscitates the youth, to the solemn enthronement on the right. This is so intensely conceived and so well balanced by the large group at the left that the eye can rest here without a sense that the equilibrium of the whole has been disturbed.

It would be hard to find another example of prayer comparable

with the detail of Peter enthroned as the first pope. The matter-of-fact Florentines who kneel in worship are lifted by their complete absorption into an atmosphere of serenity which is deeply impressive.

In the narrow space at the side of the altar Peter and John are represented passing through the streets (of *Florence*, notice) on errands of mercy. The effect is unpremeditated, as if a curtain had been raised, revealing the busy life. We feel that the same feet will tread the pavements whether or not we stop to watch. Peter approaches with free swinging gait. As his shadow falls on the expectant cripples crouching against the wall, they rise, from infirmity to praise. This series from the ministry of the Apostolic age is wonderfully in harmony with our own interpretation of the Gospel. It is entirely free from the limitations of a special age or a sectarian belief. (Pl. 9A.)

In keeping with the custom general throughout the Middle Ages, the Fall and the Expulsion are included in the interpretation of St. Paul's thought: "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive" (Pl. 9B).

With the exception of the shivering youth in the "Baptism," the "Expulsion" affords the only opportunity to study Masaccio's rendering of the nude. His knowledge is rudimentary, the extremities being understood only in their most general forms, but for the first time the significance of the figure arts has been realized. The figures are treated as symbols in an emotional and esthetic speech. The problems of composition have been so successfully met that we are unconscious of their existence. The space is very narrow, yet the painter has rendered the action without any suggestion of limitation—the figures stride forward unimpeded. "Here we experience movement as we experience heat, cold, or hunger" (Offner). To contrive that the two figures should function as a unit without the aid of drapery was equally difficult. Yet the eye is led by every accentuated line to embrace the two figures at a glance. The success of this grouping impressed later painters and was adopted with little alteration by Michelangelo and Raphael.

Again we find perfect equilibrium between form and content and an equal penetration of spiritual truth. Retribution follows swiftly upon crime, the angel commands imperiously, the wretched figures leave the threshold of Paradise in haste, but bowed down by self-accusing grief. "I acknowledge my faults and my sin is ever before me. Turn Thy face from my sins. . . .

Make me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me." These are the words that we hear on their lips. Since Masaccio's day no one has succeeded in echoing that cry of the Hebrew psalmist.

Masaccio was twenty-seven when he died. Compared with the Brancacci Chapel, remaining works are unimportant if we except the "Trinity" in Santa Maria Novella. This picture is remarkable in its mastery of perspective and in the portraits of the donors which are among the earliest individualized portraits in the Florentine school. Masaccio was the first complete master of the Renaissance. He established his work on a naturalistic basis, but was able to subordinate the facts of nature to his pictorial ideal. He was brought up in the midst of speculations concerning natural phenomena which encouraged specialization, but by a rare natural instinct he avoided all secondary interests, producing work which is marked by a synthesis found only in the greatest masters.

Masaccio's career ended before 1430, but Florentine art was carried on after his death by men who were his elders by ten or more years. The contest for the Baptistry door in 1401 which tested their powers as established artists was initiated in the year of his birth, and, although they outlived him by at least twenty years, their achievements were his inspiration as a youth. The more important of these among the painters were Masolino and Angelico.

There is considerable uncertainty as to the attribution and the chronology of Masolino's (1384–1440) work. He was the master of Masaccio, and the majority of critics, with certain notable exceptions, accept Vasari's statement that he began the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel, executing the "Fall," on the entrance pilaster, the "Raising of Tabitha" (Pl. 10B), and the "Preaching of Peter," which still remain, and other decorations since destroyed.

A comparison of these paintings with Masaccio's masterpieces reveals a difference of ability which is fundamental. The frescos by Masaccio show an advanced power of co-ordination and a rendering less delicate but much more forceful than that of the transitional painter, who regards the problems of the new day more as spectator than contributor.

The "Raising of Tabitha" has an openness and looseness characteristic of Masolino's composition. In the rectangular portico at the right, Peter and John are raising Tabitha. The

(*A*) Angelico. Annunciation. S. Marco, Florence. (Alinari)

(*B*) Angelico. Crucifixion. S. Marco, Florence. (Anderson)

(*C*) Gentile da Fabriano. Adoration of the Kings. Uffizi, Florence (Alinari)

(*A*) Angelico. Coronation of the Virgin. S. Marco, Florence. (Brogi)

(*B*) Van Eyck. Adam and Eve. Detail from Altarpiece, St. Bavon, Ghent. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*C*) Interior of Chapel, Riccardi Palace Florence. (Alinari)

(*D*) Benozzo Gozzoli. Procession of the Magi (detail). Riccardi Chapel, Florence. (Alinari)

same figures at the left give alms to a cripple. As a whole the painting is well-balanced, but the parts are not closely co-ordinated, and the absence of a strong central interest is all the more apparent from the insistence of the perspective lines leading to an empty centre. The composition is sectional, as if the panel might be hinged and folded like a three-part screen. The actors stand back to back with a space between in which two fashionable youths who traverse the city square are brought into prominence. Their bizarre appearance is in strong contrast to the Apostolic figures. The groups occupy a plane no deeper than that used by Giotto, but the Florentine houses are pushed much further back, thus securing an open effect not found in fourteenth century paintings.

Comparison with his great successor is almost inevitable in studying the Brancacci frescos and the charm of Masolino's style is overshadowed. Fortunately, other works remain in Castiglione d'Olona near Milan, where he decorated the church and Baptistry and in the latter "created one of the most beautiful interiors of the early Renaissance" (Toesca). In these scenes from the life of John the Baptist, the "Feast of Herod" and the "Baptism" are of especial beauty. In the former he displays his interest in perspective and adorns his palace with antique motives of putti and garlands (Pl. 9c). Interest in portraiture is evident in his male heads, while in the "Baptism" he takes advantage of the opportunity to introduce the nude in the figures dressing on the shore.

Refinement and delicacy characterize his drawing and his line suggests influences from beyond the Alps. The "soft and bird-like forms" of his flaxen-haired maidens are like those of Angelico. Offner speaks of a fairy-like remoteness in the action of his figures. His delicate pale colours are the antithesis of Masaccio. These decorations are "as like the music of Mozart as can be imagined" (Offner).

In the case of Masolino, the incompatibility of the old and the new is more apparent than in Angelico because he is more sensitive to his surroundings and less intent upon an ideal bound up as Angelico's is with a particular view of life. The lyric charm which relates him to Angelico is contrasted with the secular spirit which leaves him free to express his delight in the fashions of his day.

CHAPTER VI

ANGELICO AND BENOZZO GOZZOLI

Fra Angelico (1387–1455) was born in the same decade as the early realists whose mission it became to conquer the natural world. Contrasted with their eager struggles his spirit appears singularly tranquil, and his works charm and refresh us by their spontaneity. Vasari says that Angelico "used frequently to say that he who practised the art of painting had need of quiet and should live without cares or anxious thought." But his mind was not closed to new ideas. His drawing from the figure shows gradual improvement gained from the study of Masaccio, and in his altar-pieces the substitution of Renaissance for Gothic forms in the later work proves his familiarity with the new architectural style. Nevertheless, it is as a medieval survival that we think of him, for he continued to work in the spirit of the preceding period, and of him, as of his contemporary, Thomas à Kempis, it may be said that his art was "the last sweet and composite echo of all mellifluous medieval piety."

Angelico probably received his training in Florence before he entered the Dominican order at the age of twenty. His paintings prove not only his natural aptitude as a colourist and designer but also the thoroughness of his preparation. Cennino Cennini has described how exacting were the processes of tempera painting, and years of apprenticeship alone could have produced so excellent and scrupulous a craftsman as Angelico.

Shortly after he entered the monastery, the monks moved from Fiesole to Umbria, where they remained until 1418, settling first at Foligno and then at Cortona. The heights of Cortona overlook one of the most extended and entrancing landscapes of Central Italy. In an early predella panel, Angelico shows a view of Lake Trasimene taken from this point. It is the first painting we know in which a definite locality has been identified. Angelico loved nature, as numberless pictures prove, and, although he never attempted to execute a realistic scene, his awakened sense of beauty is shown in everything he did. Berenson says he was the first to communicate a sense of the pleasantness of nature.

The religious associations of Umbria must have appealed strongly to him also. It was the country of St. Francis and of St. Catherine. From Cortona, a pilgrimage to the church at Assisi was not difficult, and the building held artistic as well as religious inspiration. Here he could study the decorative art of the fourteenth century at its highest perfection in the work of Simone Martini. The enforced absence from Florence of more than a decade had therefore compensations for an artist of Angelico's temperament. It was many years after his return to Florence, however, before his work showed a complete understanding of the naturalistic tendencies in which Florentine painting led the way.

Angelico's early paintings are small, resembling enlarged illuminations and combining the greatest finesse with the greatest freedom. Sparkling colours are employed, with a lavish use of gold. Each little area is as pure and permanent as a jewel. Sometimes, in the light of a modern gallery, the pictures seem almost too brilliant; we have to imagine them in a dim chapel picked out by the flicker of the altar-candles. The predella in the National Gallery is a typical example of Angelico's colour. The reds are like the petals of poppies through which the sunlight shines; the limpid azures and ceruleans are like morning-glories fresh with dew. Opaque leaf greens interspersed throughout the panel prepare the eye for pale chocolates and mahoganies. Dominican robes, in ones and twos in the side panels, form the entire group in the outer panels, relieved by the fleck, now and again, of a vermilion book.

Angelico's work brought together in the galleries of San Marco affords an unusual opportunity for study and comparison.

One of the most perfect of the early devotional pictures is the "Coronation" painted for Santa Maria Nuova (Pl. 12A). The figures are shown against a ground of gold. It is as if the ball of the sun were hidden behind the central group, from which shafts of light seem to dart along the etched lines of the glory. The importance of the central figures is shown by their large size. Attendant saints are arranged on a symmetrical plan. Oppositions of minor movement vary the group of angels at the side of the throne; some play stringed instruments, while others move rhythmically in a slow dance. Those at the confines of the group lift high into the upper space their trumpets with long, delicate stems. The gentle play of lines is like the swaying of flowers in the wind. All is tender and ecstatic but not intense, as in Sienese painting.

In the "Last Judgment," executed in the same period, Angelico's limitations are felt. He had little dramatic power and was incapable of conceiving evil or suggesting severity. His Divine Judge lacks judicial power and his Hell is bogy-land.

But he atones for all inadequacies in the representation of Paradise (Pl. 15A), which would have delighted medieval mystics. Never were so perfectly visualized

> Those eternal bowers
> Man hath never trod,
> Those unfading flowers
> Round the throne of God.

The redeemed rush to the gentle embrace of the flower-crowned angels with naïve joy. The angel ring, dancing knee-deep in the verdure of Paradise, is drawn with enchanting daintiness.

In 1433, while Angelico was still at Fiesole, he received an order from the Linen Guild of Florence which proved that his reputation was extending beyond his convent walls. The dimensions of the picture required figures over life-size. The difficulties he experienced in executing this order, Wingenroth considers, led to a serious study of form, the results of which are splendidly illustrated in the noble figures from the Perugia altar-piece, executed shortly afterwards.

In 1436 the monks moved from Fiesole to the convent of San Marco, which had been renovated for their use by Cosimo de' Medici. The walls were undecorated and ready for Angelico's brush. Strictly speaking, there was no problem of interior decoration here, as he painted a separate devotional picture in each cell and in certain of the public rooms. The direction in which his art had been developing coincided with the requirements of the fresco medium which he now used. A comparison with earlier tempera paintings shows how greatly he simplified both composition and detail: the intricacy which he had formerly used he rightly considered inappropriate for fresco. No pictures were ever better suited to their environment. Typical of his exquisite feeling is the lunette above the door of the room where strangers were entertained where he represented in allegory the journey to Emmaus. Two Dominicans constrain a stranger to "abide with them, for the day is far spent" and the cruciform halo indicates the revelation to come in the breaking of bread.

In the corridor at the head of the stairs, Angelico painted the "Annunciation," representing the scene as if it were taking place

in his own convent (Pl. IIA). The figures are placed in a Renaissance cloister opening on the garden, in the background of which is shown one of the tiny cells of San Marco. The Virgin bows her head in acquiescence, "Be it unto me according to Thy word," as Gabriel alights noiselessly as a moth. The lines of the figures blend harmoniously with the arcade, the colour is silvery. This was a favourite subject and with each repetition Angelico varied the design but preserved always the devotional atmosphere. The decorations in the cells represent scenes from the life of Christ. Among the finest are the "Transfiguration," the "Resurrection," and the "Noli Me Tangere." Inequalities in execution and draughtsmanship in a number of examples betray the hand of assistants.

In the Chapter House Angelico painted a large lunette of the "Crucifixion" (Pl. IIB). The three crosses rise high against the dull *red* sky; light breaks at the horizon and the row of figures is silhouetted against it in pastel shades of rose, straw, green, and blue-grey. The figures are strung through the picture singly or in loose groups. They include not only historical personages but saints and monks of a later day. The autobiography of the picture is written here, for the choice of figures reveals for what city, church, patron, and religious order it was intended. The scene is not historical but doctrinal and should properly be called the Dogma of the Redemption. At the foot of the Cross are gathered "the fruits of the Divine compassion." Wingenroth compares it with the "Disputa" of Raphael as an interpretation of the Catholic faith.

Among the devotional pictures is the "Madonna Enthroned." The saints are no longer separated from the central figure, but, although they are assembled on either side of the throne, they have not forgotten their long isolation and remain self-contained units somewhat fortuitously brought together. Angelico never understood the art of massing; his interest was concentrated on the individual, not on the group, as a unit. The hall in which the saints are assembled is designed in the purest Renaissance style. Perhaps the painter never did a lovelier altar-piece than this, with its studied symmetry, its solemn atmosphere, and the hush of its *santa conversazione*.

Angelico's last works were done in the Vatican; the frescos in the chapel of Nicholas V. still survive. It is of particular value to have this complete decoration, tiny as the room is (about eleven by thirteen feet), as a record of the early school to compare with

the achievements of the next century, seen in the Stanze. The art is unencumbered, the vision clear.

As a designer, Angelico makes use of a wealth of decorative motives. The gold of his backgrounds is enriched with fine ornament, which also outlines the flowing contours of the garments. The all-over patterns of the fabrics are sometimes based on a symbolic motive, as is the flame on the vestments of St. Lawrence. Landscape is arbitrarily arranged, as may be seen in his pointed cypresses rising against an interlacing of hills "like lances planted in the ground" (Venturi). His backgrounds "smile" with flowering shrubs, and the lawn is starred with radial tufts of grasses or tiny blossoms laid on a flat ground, each touch forming a solid little petal. All are combined with a perfect sense of order, so that the eye delights in the alternation of broken and solid areas. This abstract feeling for design rendered in pure and sparkling colour is the distinctive quality of Angelico's work. However interesting it may be to observe the development of his figure drawing or the evolution of his architectural forms, the value of his work is affected very little if at all by such considerations. It is his presentation rather than his representation that is important.

On the other hand, Angelico is almost alone among fifteenth century artists in retaining the symbolic interpretation of the Middle Ages. Like the Gothic sculptors, he shows the Fall with the Annunciation, his Last Supper is treated as the Institution of the Sacrament; and the Crucifixion conveys the promise of the Redemption. Angelico's art, like his life, is simple, unaffected, and spontaneous.

In his last years Angelico was assisted by Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497), a young man whose hand Venturi believes may be detected even in the frescos of San Marco. Descriptive and naturalistic features in the decoration of the Chapel of Nicholas V. betray his assistance. Benozzo was one of the most delightful among the painters of secondary rank in the Florentine school. After Angelico's death he worked in Umbria, mingling with the devotional feeling of his master works of pure genre. Benozzo's secular feeling was given free rein when he undertook the decoration of the chapel in the Medici (now Riccardi) Palace in Florence. The close dependence of such works on the elaborated pageants of the fifteenth century would be interesting to demonstrate. Burckhardt speaks of such festivals as the intermediate stage making easy the transition from actual life to art. They were

especially important at this moment when secular commissions gave the painter a wider choice of subjects. Although Benozzo's theme was the time-honoured one of the Adoration, the method he adopted was that of a pageant painter.

The tiny chapel in the Riccardi Palace is divided so that the sanctuary is separated from the main room and Benozzo seems to have felt no restraint in handling the procession. The journey of the kings exhibits, as in some gay missal, the pomp and circumstance of life (Pl. 12C).

The landscape is fanciful and exaggerated and yet in parts quite true in spirit to Italian scenery, so that, as one studies it, the descriptions of Boccaccio or of Bembo are recalled. The emerald green of the clipped lawns is shut in by the solid foliage of the ilex; into the garden paths, no ray of sun can penetrate through the hedge of blossoming roses; the hillsides with their vineyards look as if a carding comb had drawn them into their neat lines. This aspect of the richly cultivated areas is suddenly broken by abrupt hills behind a screen of tall, straight trees stiffly trimmed. Many are exceedingly attenuated, and some are cut in fantastic shapes (Pl. 12D).

The procession makes a rich glint of colour in the distance, passing through a defile in the rock or silhouetted against the sky, where the animals are seen to best advantage. The more serious purpose of the journey is enlivened by episodes of the hunt; the diversions of the middle distance are endless. The kings are on their way to Bethlehem, but how pleasant and entertaining is the country through which they pass! The fondness for "outlandish" animals of all kinds was very general in the fifteenth century. They were a feature of the pageants. Extraordinary life and movement are shown in the many wild creatures coursing up the mountain passes of these paintings. Lions and tigers neatly peppered with all-over designs are a feature throughout, and a naïve disregard for scale enhances the sense of a fairy-tale adventure.

The design is like that of a Gothic tapestry, perfect in its treatment of "all-over pattern" and splendid in colour, enhanced with gold embossing, set jewel-like against a verdant green landscape bright with fruit-trees and with birds. The "strength and science of the Renaissance were here added to the daintiness of a Gothic illuminator." The work has been described at some length both on account of its intrinsic charm and because it is a type of much contemporary painting, like that employed in

furniture decoration (cassone), in which art Francesco Pesellino was the leading Florentine master.

Benozzo lived until the last years of the century and continued his work with unabated enthusiasm. The vastest cycle undertaken by any fifteenth century painter he executed in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Müntz says Benozzo was the first painter to bring an idealistic picturesque interpretation to the Old Testament. The colour is light and harmonious, a pale green recurring throughout. There are delightful realistic groups from contemporary life (note specially the vintage scene), interesting portraits, and charming architectural settings, such as the Tower of Babel. If Benozzo chose the "pomps and vanities" of the everyday world as his subject, he showed as great a singleness of purpose as Angelico in pursuing his end.

CHAPTER VII

THE GROWTH OF SECULAR INTERESTS

The first half of the fifteenth century was the age of scientific inquiry which laid the foundations for the world in which we live today. It bred a race of stern, fearless men, looking life, experience, the facts of nature, straight in the face, and asking—What are you? In art, the answer was given by the realists. A few years after Cennino Cennini wrote, "A man has on his left side one rib less than a woman—and all over the body there are bones," an artist was handling the scalpel in order to master the science of anatomy. Knowledge of the laws of optics enabled the sculptor Donatello to adapt figures sculptured in his shop to the elevation above the eye for which they were intended, while other artists furthered the studies in perspective which made possible the representation of objects in three dimensions on a flat field.

These men personified a revolt against hearsay, against symbolic expression, against superficialities of every kind. This was admirable, it was the attitude of progress; but in the enthusiasm for their special subjects they sometimes lost the sense of proportion. Their works are often like battlefields where ignorance is overcome by knowledge but not without leaving signs of carnage. Such productions are often stepping-stones rather than esthetic achievements in themselves.

The synthetic art of Masaccio was followed by the analytical studies of Uccello, Castagno, and Domenico Veneziano. Uccello and Castagno not only painted but worked in mosaic and designed for stained glass, examples of which adorn the Duomo in Florence today. Vasari tells us that Uccello (1397–1475) was first apprenticed to Ghiberti. We see no sign of Ghiberti's influence in the types or forms of Uccello's painting, but the study of perspective which became his absorbing interest may well have resulted from this connection. Vasari says that Uccello's wife could not persuade him to take his necessary sleep at night because "perspective was so sweet a thing." No better description could be given of the scientific temperament. Secular interest

was growing every day, and the work of the generation of artists beginning their activity in the second quarter of the century was no longer confined to religious subjects.

One of Uccello's earliest commissions was for an equestrian portrait of a contemporary mercenary captain, Sir John Hawkwood (Pl. 14D). It was painted in 1439 and is one of the earliest portraits of the century—a familiar figure from contemporary life. The Florentine government had originally intended to erect a monument to this English captain, who had remained true to the Florentine cause although offered a bribe by the enemy. For some reason this project was not carried out; instead Uccello simulated in a mural painting a stone statue against a conventional background of dull red. The peculiar conditions of this commission occasioned the conventional non-pictorial treatment and exclusively plastic rendering. Uccello's knowledge of perspective enabled him to construct the mounted figure on its pedestal as if seen above the eye. Horse and rider alike embody the war spirit of the day. Crowe and Cavalcaselle call attention to the reciprocal influence of sculpture and painting at this period, which led Ghiberti to represent in bronze essentially pictorial effects of receding atmospheric planes, while painters created the illusion of plastic relief. Certain frescos by Uccello in the green cloister of Santa Maria Novella illustrate how far these artists were led from what is generally considered the primary concern of the painter. This series from the Old Testament is executed in monochrome.

Uccello's mastery over form is nowhere better illustrated than in a sepia drawing of a head in the Uffizi. The modelling is as sure and firm as if it were executed in bronze. The type is interesting to compare with the portraits which begin at this time to be described in contemporary literature.

Shortly after the middle of the century, Uccello was commissioned to execute four scenes from Florentine warfare as a decoration for the Medici palace (Pl. 13C). This was a novel theme. A special episode is shown in each picture with the military leader in a prominent place. "The scenes are like tournaments staged rather than battles," Mr. Rankin says. The contest between opposing factions gives the painter an opportunity to show the armour and weapons of the day. The background is formed in part by the foliage of near-by trees, in part by distant rising ground on which are other warriors, armed with cross-bows, etc. The contest is confused and the parts so closely fitted together

that there seems to be some question whether any further movement will be possible; certain positions having been taken, the only thing to do, it would seem, is to hold them until the machinery runs down. The horses look like mechanical toys, and the helmets, with top-heavy branching forms, resemble chandeliers. A fantastic effect results from the obvious way in which the broken lances are disposed in order to illustrate the principles of perspective; such illustration is even imposed upon the dying and the dead.

But in spite of the introduction of such details the principal importance of these paintings is their decorative quality. The example in the National Gallery is a delightful piece of pure design, in medium values and neutralized colour. Before a mouse-coloured hill rising against a dull gobelin blue sky, spears of cardinal, pale yellow, and leaf green move now backward, now forward. It is "a masterpiece of decorative colour" (Berenson). These panels, by their fine handling of spaces, shapes, and colour, and their feeling for massing of line, were the inspiration of much decorative work, such as cassone painting, which was a flourishing activity at this period of luxurious house furnishing in Italy. Through the medium of Piero della Francesca this type of design became the inspiration of modern art (Rankin).

The work of Uccello shows a rich diversity and we may not consider his rendering of contemporary types nor his studies of perspective as his greatest achievement. This is found rather, as Mr. Rankin points out, in his originality in adapting the medieval panorama to the recital of the deeds of his own day.

Castagno (c. 1396–1457) was a realist to whom his contemporaries were of absorbing interest—those men of iron, spending the greater part of their time in the saddle, inured to every hardship, ready to meet any emergency. We do not know from whom he learned his art, but it was based primarily on the study of Donatello as may be seen in the frescos for the Villa Pandolfi, now at Sant' Apollonia in Florence. Especially successful are the figures of fighters; that, for instance, of Pippo Spano (Pl. 14B), clad in mail, standing with legs braced wide apart. The weight of the figure is tremendous; it is closely knit, compact, and formidable. Its dare-devil bravado almost justifies Vasari's accusation that Castagno committed murder, though we now know that his supposed victim long outlived him.

These figures are invigorating and compel one to become, with them, captains of adventure. Each man in turn is a study

in anatomical construction, in the adjustment of weight and the co-ordination of the body. Pippo Spano poses on both feet; Farinata stands with the weight on one foot. It is a delight to the artist to know and to illustrate the laws of equilibrium. Their frames are large, their hands out of proportion, their grip relentless. The heads are portraits either of the man himself or one of his contemporaries. Female figures are also included in the series, but they seem to be built on the same heavy framework as the men; they suggest Amazons. Castagno perhaps derived the type from Masaccio. It was taken up by later artists and at last, by Michelangelo, was given majestic beauty in the sibyls of the Sistine ceiling.

Such a man as Castagno had little aptitude for treating religious subjects. He lacked imagination and subtlety. The conception of the "Crucifixion," also in Sant' Apollonia, is traditional, but naturalistic effects were too tempting to resist, and the angels hovering about the Cross are experiments in foreshortening and in plastic effects which seem to tempt recklessly the laws of gravitation. In the "Last Supper" (Pl. 13A), the artist's serious purpose as a painter of the figure and the limitation of his abilities on the interpretative side are well shown. He intends to render the subject in a faithful manner, but he is incapable of elevating it above an ordinary scene of soldiers at mess. It is impossible to judge of its original quality, however, from the present state of the fresco, which has been greatly restored. As an expression of the plastic world, it is very powerful, showing "an energy which fired the creative faculties of the painter as he worked."

In addition to the series of heroes or of famous men popular at this time, there was a demand for individual portraits of both men and women. Castagno produced one of the finest, a picture regarded by certain critics as the most splendid Florentine painting of the fifteenth century. This is the "Portrait of a Man" in the collection of Mr. Morgan. The sincerity, the search for an unequivocal statement of form in its geometric significance, the immediate impression of the individual with his pronounced physiognomy, the force with which this is brought over to the spectator, explain this estimate.

Castagno shows none of the attractive qualities which we may desire in a work of art; his forms are coarse and at times repulsive; he lacks freedom of articulation, so that the gestures are often stilted; he has not Donatello's ability to idealize and elevate his work to beauty; but with the masters of plastic structure

he takes his place as one of the important influences of the century.

Very little remains by which to judge the art of Domenico Veneziano (c. 1400–1461), whose name suggests a Venetian origin which is borne out by certain characteristics of form and colour in his painting. Although his "Madonna Enthroned," in the National Gallery, is a ruin, enough remains to show his able draughtsmanship and his sense of monumental composition, which make him a factor in the evolution from Masaccio to the High Renaissance. The colour is soberly rich and flat like that of a Chinese painting—gobelin blue, maroon, vert antique, weathered stone colour—all neutralized by common injury. But in the better-preserved altar-piece of the Uffizi, the colour is both gay and mellow, and his pupils, especially Piero della Francesca, prove the stress which he must have laid on harmonious tone.

The lightly constructed arbour of pointed arches and the fruit-trees seen against the sky form a charming setting. The gala effect is enhanced by the flood of light pouring into the picture. Mr. Offner considers that this altar-piece, in its un-Florentine division of space, is an instance of North Italian reminiscences. The male figures are forcible naturalistic studies; the women, graceful and feminine, but with stronger physique than Angelico's. Their heads are carried on slender necks, and their features are small in proportion to the high, rounded foreheads dictated by the fashion of the day. The influence of Masaccio is evident in a greater feeling of reality.

The work of the realists was brutal often, but vital, pulsating with the life of the day. They were important painters, each making his contribution towards the conquest of nature. Even beside Masaccio, they do not seem insignificant. But in turning back to the "Tribute Money," one is lifted above "unselect" nature by an ideal quality to which these painters did not even aspire. "The ideal is based on selection. The realists lost sight of this in their desire for complete statement and working out of their science" (Crowe and Cavalcaselle). Every fact was so important that their art became encyclopaedic. Historically they are very important because they perfected the tools which at the end of the century in the hands of a Leonardo produced an art all-comprehensive, significant, subtle—endowed with the very qualities which they lacked.

The secular tendencies in art were not confined to the realists or to subjects from contemporary life. It has been said of

Fra Filippo Lippi (1406–1469) that he secularized and domesticated art. This is true, notwithstanding the fact that his subjects were, without exception, religious, that he scarcely ever treated the nude, and that he had no interest in the scientific innovations of his day.

Since he was a monk, the orders he received were for religious subjects, but he was incapable of a significant interpretation of spiritual meanings and his pictures all reflect the sympathy he felt for the traits of common humanity found in his own social class. The "Holy Family" is transformed by the butcher's son into a winsome middle-class group in which strong and tender affections create an atmosphere of poetry. The world he finds full of beauty, and for him that is enough. According to Browning, he thinks—

> If you get simple beauty and naught else,
> You get about the best thing God invents.

One trait Fra Filippo and Angelico had in common. Both were contented to utilize the technical knowledge which they inherited without adding to it materially; Angelico because it was fully adequate to express his medieval visions, Fra Filippo because he was naturally easy-going and had no inclination to struggle with difficulties.

His method of composition is elementary. The formal pictures have generally a central pyramidal group, with flanking figures at the sides. Lines of floor and cornice form the limits of a shallow stage and the picture is made ornamental by colour and detail. Narrative scenes are expressive but often fail in organization into a unified whole; even the masterly "Feast of Herod" and "Death of Stephen" suffer from the intrusion of irrelevant episodes. The simple Uffizi Madonna is perhaps the most successful in arrangement and the Pitti tondo in colour.

Filippo's first master, it is believed, was Lorenzo Monaco, whose training in line he never forgot. His early work shows affinities also with Angelico and Masolino, but gradually he develops his own style, in which a half-pensive, half-whimsical vein gives peculiar charm.

Among his early works is the tondo in the Cook Collection, an exquisite illumination. The figures form a nosegay of sky-blue, pale vermilion, saffrons, and ochres. All is blithe and radiant. A typical altar-piece is the "Coronation of the Virgin" (1441). It is beautiful in colour and lovely in its accompaniment of angel

choirs bearing branching lilies like candles against the banded blue ground. But the main group is beyond his imaginative power. He is so tied to earth that when he draws the Queen of Heaven crowned by the Almighty all he can call up is the memory of a childish veiled figure kneeling at her first communion. "Let this go," he seems to say; "now we come to the really interesting thing." And with perfect complacency, he proceeds to delineate with his best grace the attendant figures with their heavy mantles, delicate ornaments, and elaborate veils. We forget about the coronation, as they have done, for they have turned their backs on the heavenly group in their wondering interest in the things of the world. Indeed, "the true subject of his works was as little veiled by their titles as the true nature of the man by his habit" (Horne).

Every one is friendly in Fra Filippo's world. When Gabriel comes with the Annunciation message, he brings a companion who waits at the portal to accompany him on his return. Filippo loved people and interpreted them very tenderly at times, as in the predella of the Virgin's death. Legend recounts that when the angel came with his starred palm to announce to the Virgin her approaching death, she asked that the Apostles might be brought to bid her farewell. The scene had been treated before, but Fra Filippo was the first to remember how very old and frail some of the Apostles must have been, and how fraught with dangers their journey. He shows us the aged men with their staffs, gently guided and sustained by attendant angels.

Exquisite sensitiveness is shown again in the "Adoration" in Berlin (Pl. 14c). The strange, unnatural forms of rock and tree of which his landscape backgrounds are composed are here used to construct a setting far from the haunts of men where, if anywhere, might be revealed the mystery of the Trinity. Stratified rocks rise to the boundary of the panel; through the dense growth of fir trees we see dimly a mountain stream trickling down the shelving rocks. It is like the Maine woods. All is still; in the foreground the Virgin kneels in adoration before the Child; above them hovers the Dove beneath the spread arms of the Almighty. The colour is harmonious and beautiful. This motive of the Virgin adoring the Child was one newly introduced into art and one which never lost its charm for Florentine painters. Its simultaneous appearance in various European schools of painting is evidence of the widespread influence of the mystery plays, as Mâle has shown.

As a youth in the Carmelite convent which he entered as a child, Filippo witnessed the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel.

His feeling for plastic form was immeasurably weaker than that of Masaccio but now and again the memory of the older master's work is revealed in an unexpected grandeur of form, as in the women at St. Stephen's bier who appear like mourning figures on a monument. This fresco, in the Cathedral at Prato (c. 1456), is his masterpiece. The subject of the choir decoration is the lives of St. John the Baptist and of St. Stephen. The walls are dark and injured; the paintings are difficult to see, but can be appreciated only on the spot, where their beauty of colour can be judged. The final scene in each series is of great interest: the "Dance of Herodias' Daughter" and the "Funeral of St. Stephen" (Pl. 13B). In the latter, the groups are well massed; the setting of the basilican church with its simple proportions is admirably designed; and the figure of the youthful deacon in its serene beauty is equal to the effigies on the finest of Florentine tombs. Filippo has preserved the unity of the group, at the same time introducing portraits more individualized than those of Masaccio. Some of his people turn their gaze towards us with an expression which makes us wonder what thoughts are in their minds. This constant appeal to the spectators for recognition puts his art on an entirely different plane from that of either Masaccio or the realists. He is neither epic nor truly dramatic, since he fails to keep his "psychic distance."

It is only when Filippo is dominated for the moment by the memory of Masaccio, however, that he suggests the strong downward pressure of plastic form or composes within a compact encircling contour. His contours are constantly forgetting their structural function and doubling back upon themselves in some enchanting irrelevance or elaboration. He really loved line for its own sake, although he could also use it grandly at times. He had various mannerisms in which he evidently delighted, like the arrangement of the draperies, in which the folds lie on the ground, so carefully pleated that they seem to be ironed in. He loved the movement and billowing of thin material in the wind, as he shows in Salome, and in the figure in the Pitti tondo. Both anticipate Botticelli.

His most characteristic panel paintings are the Uffizi "Madonna," executed for the Medici, and the Pitti tondo. In the latter, the design is well fitted to the circular boundary. The Virgin holds the Child, who displays the seeds of the pomegranate, the symbol of Eternal Life. In the background, the meeting of Joachim and Anna and the birth of the Virgin are introduced. The colour

(*A*) Castagno. Last Supper. S. Apollonia, Florence. (Alinari)

(*B*) Fra Filippo Lippi. Funeral of St. Stephen. Duomo, Prato. (Alinari)

(*C*) Uccello. Rout of San Romano. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*A*) Fra Filippo Lippi. Madonna and Child. Uffizi, Florence. (Alinari)

(*B*) Castagno. Pippo Spano. S. Apollonia, Florence. (Alinari)

(*C*) Fra Filippo Lippi. Adoration of the Christ Child. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*D*) Uccello. Sir John Hawkwood. Cathedral, Florence. (Alinari)

scheme is quite unusual, a play of bottle-green and vermilion united by a background in which both are neutralized, the green becoming a cool grey.

The Uffizi "Madonna" (Pl. 14A) shows a simple unconventional group in which the Virgin, with folded hands, adores the Christ Child, upheld by two urchins eager for our approval. The angels have the breadth of face and width of jaw which are characteristic of Fra Filippo; the acolytes who served at his morning mass may well have been his models. The Child is heavy and phlegmatic, the large head being embedded in His shoulders with no neck apparent. The sentiment, rather than devotional, is pensive and playful—a bit of poetry charming us by its disregard of earlier conventions: a mother and children are the subject. The half-length figures are arranged before a window and their arabesque against the sky forms a lovely design. The Virgin is dressed in contemporary fashion. The veil which tradition has prescribed to conceal her feminine attractions he perversely contrives of transparent material, loops in a hundred cascades, and fastens with pearls.

"Despite his cowl he had an uncloistered eye" (Taylor), and feminine beauty took the form of "the Prior's daughter to the life." Usually the forehead is broad and high, the eyes wide-spaced and liquid, the cheeks softly rounded, the lips full; the shoulders are rather narrow and sloping and the hands small and delicate but not often well drawn. Add to this great beauty of colour and irresistible human sympathy. Browning represents Fra Filippo as "making eyes and noses to his music notes," a quite probable surmise, for we feel how naturally artistic expression came to him. He did not mould the world or even his own career. Circumstance played upon him, and temperament controlled his life. When he followed the tradition of the fourteenth century, he did so without penetrating its symbolic meaning. His outlook on life was genial and tolerant; his handling of sacred subjects was familiar and friendly. Berenson speaks of the peculiar waywardness of his style. With him began the translation of the sacred legend into middle class language which persisted in Florence until the masters of the High Renaissance suddenly elevated the Holy Family to the aristocracy.

CHAPTER VIII

UMBRIAN AND FLORENTINE CHARACTERISTICS

Siena was the only important locality in which a school dating back to the early fourteenth century persisted until the High Renaissance. At the close of the fourteenth and opening of the fifteenth century Taddeo di Bartolo (c. 1362–1422), the head of the school, was active in the Umbrian towns of central Italy where his influence was important. Accepted types of composition, competent drawing and craftsmanship, characterize his style, which without originality added naturalistic feeling to the late medieval tradition.

Artistic gifts of a high order are found in Sassetta (1392–1450). The quality of the earlier Sienese masters is preserved in his art in which at the same time he shows the study of nature. In landscape "he makes a generalization from specific geographical facts" and certain of his panels, appearing in recent exhibitions, are startling from the "modernist" effects of his colour schemes. At times his interpretation recalls the Fioretti by the naïveté of his religious conceptions, as in the "Marriage of St. Francis" (Chantilly); while at other times, as in the "St. Francis in Ecstasy," he "unites in the manner of Far Eastern Buddhist painters the rarest esthetic satisfaction, with a vivid realization of the sublime temper of Christian faith" (Brown and Rankin).

Vecchietta (1412–1480) may be selected among the later men as an illustration of the consistent preference in Siena for conventionality in painting. Vecchietta was architect and sculptor as well as painter, and his sculptural works show a realism inspired by Donatello and as drastic as that of any Florentine, while in painting, in spite of the introduction of naturalistic details, he is essentially an idealist and a traditionalist.

Sano di Pietro, Giovanni di Paolo, and Matteo di Giovanni are distinctly local and altogether delightful but without historic significance. Other painters of individual gifts following the local tradition are Francesco di Giorgio, Neroccio di Landi, Benvenuto di Giovanni, and Bernardino Fungai.

Until the final years of the fifteenth century when the Sienese

school practically died out and artists from elsewhere were employed in the city, local and traditional elements were almost the only source of inspiration. Sienese painting lived on the memory of her great masters, and their tradition became the inheritance of the school during the whole century. Conventional, conservative, aristocratic, with a subtle blending of mystic aloofness and gentle sentiment, their altar-pieces fill the churches and galleries of Siena, but they did not often find their way beyond its walls, nor can they be adequately appreciated apart from their environment.

The disinclination to welcome either craftsmen or ideas from the outside which was so persistent in Siena is in strong contrast with the development in Umbria, which maintained so close a connection with the Florentine school that its history must be reviewed briefly at this point.

Under the classification of the Umbrian school is grouped the work of artists of Umbria itself and of the Marches. Here there was no dominant city like Florence. The towns were small and scattered through the hill country, remote from the centres of activity. By the middle of the fifteenth century a number of local centres of indigenous art had developed. Though often attractive in their own setting, such schools had nothing to contribute to the evolution of Italian painting. "Early Umbrian art was a survival of Byzantine formalism but lacked its seriousness" (Rankin). Form, drawing, composition, and colour show resemblances to Sienese painting, but the hieratic mood of the Sienese is replaced by sentimentality in which grace and languor are combined. Among the early painters, Nelli of Gubbio, Lorenzo and Jacopo da San Severini, Allegretto Nuzi, and Gentile da Fabriano (1360–1427) are the chief names.

Of these painters, Gentile da Fabriano alone need detain us here. "His art was the culmination of a provincial and isolated movement," but he was highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and the circumstances of his life lent an importance to his painting out of proportion to its real value. He was evidently a man of initiative. We hear of him first in the early years of the fifteenth century at Venice and Brescia, where his influence was important. Later he worked in Florence, and finally in Rome, when, following the long disorders, Martin V. summoned artists to decorate the Lateran. He was employed there at the time of his death. Unfortunately, the works executed in Venice and Rome are lost and the most important source for the study of Gentile is the "Adora-

tion" painted for Santa Trinità, Florence (1423) (Pl. 11c). The art of the illuminator is delightfully illustrated in this "vivacious spectacle." The soft glow of the gold holds the parts together in a sumptuous harmony. With his Gothic draughtsmanship and his beautiful use of relative scale in ornament Gentile employs a range of colours which seem almost sombre beside those of Angelico and Monaco. Shades of rosewood, walnut, bronze, greenish black, and dull peacock blue are enlivened by the interplay of gold and by a touch of scarlet suddenly flaming out. This "Adoration" is the earliest painting of the subject in which the pageant interest is predominant. Gentile had no followers in Fabriano and little of importance was produced in the small Umbrian cities after 1450.

One of the earliest contacts of Umbria with Florentine art dates from the middle of the century, when Benozzo Gozzoli executed extensive frescos in Montefalco. Benozzo had been Angelico's journeyman in Rome and was still under his spell at this time, but beneath the thin veneer of his devoutness a lively interest in everyday life is apparent. This naturalistic style impressed the provincial Umbrian painters with its mastery, still beyond their powers. Benozzo's influence is apparent in the art of Nicola da Foligno, Bonfigli, and others.

Florentine training came to be recognized as an essential by the later painters. It was looked upon much as their sojourn in Paris was regarded by American painters fifty years ago. With few exceptions, the Umbrian masters whose names are familiar either worked there as apprentices or came in touch later in life with Florentine ideals. Not one of them, however, lost altogether the qualities inherited from his birthplace. The most important of these was harmonious composition, which fitted them to take a leading place as decorators.

One group of Umbrian painters were so strongly attracted by the scientific interests of the Florentine school that they are classified as Umbro-Florentines. By anatomical and naturalistic studies these men acquired power as figure draughtsmen equal to that of the best Florentines. The earliest representative of this group is Piero della Francesca (1416–1492), born in 1416 in Borgo San Sepolcro, but as early as 1439 working as the assistant of Domenico Veneziano in Florence. The young man, by this connection, was drawn into the group of naturalists whose studies would be most congenial to one with his scientific bent. His paintings illustrate the command he acquired over the realistic aspects of nature (Pl. 16a) but prove him to have had as well a feeling for the signifi-

(*A*) Angelico. Paradise, detail of Last Judgment. S. Marco, Florence. (Anderson)

(*B*) Antonio Pollajuolo. Heracles and the Hydra. Uffizi, Florence. (Anderson)

(*C*) Melozzo da Forli. Portrait group. Vatican Gallery, Rome. (Anderson)

(*D*) Signorelli. Arabesque. Duomo, Orvieto. (Anderson)

(*A*) Piero della Francesca. Resurrection. Borgo S. Sepolcro. (Alinari)

(*B*) Piero della Francesca. Vision of Constantine. S. Francesco, Arezzo. (Alinari)

(*C*) Signorelli. The Resurrection. Duomo, Orvieto. (Anderson)

cance of his subjects which leads one to believe that the study of the Brancacci frescos constituted an important part of his education.

Shortly after 1450, Piero decorated the choir of the church of St. Francis at Arezzo with the story of the True Cross. These frescos are among the most impressive works of the century. To give any idea of this series, at least four examples should be illustrated, and that is impossible here. The one shown is "Solomon Receiving the Queen of Sheba" (Pl. 17B). The picture includes, at the left, the Queen and her women kneeling in veneration as they recognize in the log floating on the water the wood of the True Cross. These colossal figures, with their slow movement and their strange unadorned heads, stand "on the verge of caricature," as Blashfield says, but they are to be regarded primarily as elements of design. The painter's real concern seems to be measured space and mathematical proportion. What significance the figures have results rather from their place in this scheme than from any meaning he has attempted to give them. On account of the low horizon line, the figures appear to be of superhuman proportions. Those in the distance diminish rapidly in size, and the relation between the two is like that of rows of columns in a roofless building. By this device, the depth and cubic content of the space are accentuated.

Although dramatic interpretation is a secondary concern with the painter, something in the way he has treated the figures convinces us that what is taking place is momentous, self-contained as the actors appear to be. Berenson says that part of their impressiveness comes from their imperturbability. The women belong to the same large-boned race as those of Castagno; they are not unlike the lay figures on which costumes might be adjusted. Indeed, Vasari tells us that Piero made figures of clay which he draped and used as models. Their garments are of heavy stuff and hang in deep folds, marked out in bold light and shade, and have a grand simplicity like that of Masaccio. The heads are like block heads. Their naturally high foreheads are increased by the fashion of shaving, no hair escaping from under their strange head-dresses. Their throats are long and powerful. The painter seems to have reserved all his love of ornament for the architecture. The hall at the right in which Solomon receives the Queen is designed in the purest Renaissance style; the detail of shaft and capital is rendered with exquisite delicacy.

Other examples of the series illustrate Piero's landscape and

treatment of clouded sky, and the "Victory of Constantine over Maxentius" with its spears and banners is also magnificently decorative. This, and the "Battle and Death of Chrosroes," in their fitting together of complicated figures illustrating a narrative in the form of ornamental pattern, show the influence of the war panels which Uccello at this time was executing for the Medici palace. Piero's colour has more atmospheric tone than that of his contemporaries: it is rich, harmonious, and beautiful. By this means any harshness suggested by the photograph is obviated. The pictures seem to be radiant with out-of-door light.

It is evident that Piero's conception of nature was wholly plastic. For him the convention of line hardly existed. Nevertheless we are unprepared for his revolutionary use of chiaroscuro in the night scene illustrating the "Vision of Constantine" (Pl. 16B). Here he employs a method nearer to Rembrandt than to his own countrymen. For, as in the seventeenth century, the medium of composition is shadow, in which the figures loom as silhouettes or are picked out by the shaft of supernatural light. There is nothing in contemporary painting with which to compare it. His style is consistent and is illustrated in numerous altar-pieces, the finest being the "Resurrection" of Borgo San Sepolcro (Pl. 16A).

The position of Christ behind the sarcophagus, with one foot resting on the edge as if about to draw himself forth and step out, is a Byzantine tradition. It may be seen in Pietro Lorenzetti's frescos in Assisi. Piero shows his genius in his handling of this theme. The form of Christ, in no sense beautiful or attractive, even awkward in position, towers triumphant over death. It is as if Piero were illustrating an inevitable law to which even the Christ conformed. With means like those of medieval art, frontality, opposition of line, and a grand immobility, he creates an impression beyond that of any other painter of this subject. The experience of the last three days, rather than the joy of resurrection, is stamped on the gaunt face with its deep-set eyes (Berenson). From these lips must come, to the adoring woman, the warning, "Noli Me tangere." It is not necessary to assume that Piero was searching for a profound religious symbol, for all his figures have a comparable solemnity. This is the result in part of his weighty plastic masses, still close to the rudimentary geometric forms, and in part to his understanding of scale and purely formal relationships. He was a master of proportion and he fully appreciated the advantages to be gained by the placing of his figures. These

abstract qualities give his work a special value for the student of the present day.

The boldness shown in the examples already examined leaves us unprepared to find him so great a master of delicacy as he appears in the portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino in the Uffizi. The draughtsmanship is magnificent—the cameo-like relief of "Battista Sforza," pale ivory against the cerulean sky, is particularly fine. The heads are shown in strict profile, cut at the bust like portrait medallions, and interpreted with complete impersonality; no hint is given of their emotional life. Fortunately from other sources the full record of these wise rulers and great patrons of the arts is available. The commission for these portraits brought Piero to Urbino and his influence is evident in the work of a number of North Italian painters. This sojourn also brought him into intimate relation with Giovanni Santi, the father of Raphael, and with Melozzo da Forlì (1438–1494) who became his pupil. Melozzo was born in the Marches and shows affiliation with North Italian painters as well.

The influence of Piero is apparent in the fresco executed in Rome to commemorate the reorganization of the Vatican Library by Sixtus IV. in 1475 (Pl. 15c). It is notable as one of the earliest historical portrait groups. As such, it is a splendid achievement. Sixtus IV., Platina, his librarian, and the attendant cardinals are superb portraits. The scene takes place in a magnificent Renaissance hall representing the Vatican Library, Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe. It is designed in a highly ornate style. The point of sight suggests that the picture was placed high on the wall, and the science with which the perspective is treated points both to the thoroughness of Melozzo's training and to his natural interest in the problem. The background, in its soft tones of white (with touches of gold?), necessitates a colour scheme in a light key. This has been carried out with the happiest result. The fine tonal harmony may well have resulted from Piero's teaching, but the painter shows originality in his colour combinations.

Interest in perspective was not confined to architecture but led to novel experiments in its application to the figure seen above the eye. About 1480, Melozzo decorated the cupola of SS. Apostoli, Rome, with the "Ascension of Christ." Unfortunately this example, which would have been most interesting to study, is preserved only in isolated fragments. The central figure is in the Quirinal, the cherubs and musical angels in the Sacristy of St. Peter's. Melozzo's types and colour are well illustrated, but in

judging the pictures one must remember that they were intended for a position far removed from the eye and were consequently painted in a manner which may seem coarse, close at hand. The atmospheric effects, nevertheless, are extraordinary. The angels look just as they would against the Italian sky. They are robust types with auburn hair and garments in which moss greens, lavenders, and pink-reds make daring spots against the della Robbia blue. In its original setting this must have been magnificent and for this early date it was equalled in originality only by Mantegna, whose experiments of a similar nature were no doubt its inspiration.

Similar problems engaged him in decorating the ceiling of the Sacristy at Loreto. Here, however, the space is crowded with architecture and figures and the difficulties he encountered are too evident. Spatial relations are not successful, although there is much to admire in the virile drawing of the enthroned prophets, the monumental simplicity of their draperies, and the unusual combination of colour.

Signorelli was also a pupil of Piero, belonging to the same Umbro-Florentine group. He was so greatly indebted to Florentine science, however, that it is necessary to review the progress taking place in the Florentine school. The succession of interests there is illustrated in the sculptural work of Donatello, for he was the recognized leader. His early figures were designed in the linear rhythms which were a Gothic inheritance and which necessitated the yielding of organic structure to a more or less arbitrary scheme. This style persisted in the work of men for whom abstract beauty sufficed, but Donatello threw it off with incredible rapidity and stiffened the pose until the model stood more or less at attention, braced against surprise. The anatomical organization of the figure now conditioned the pose, just as man's self-sufficiency and assertion shaped his career. Similar problems were treated by the first naturalist painters who made the isolated figure their main study. They were too much interested in the problems inherent in structure itself to concern themselves with complications of pose or with grouping, which would demand a different interest. But the next step was inevitable: the study of motion soon displaced the monumental figure.

In 1433, Donatello designed for the Duomo a choir gallery in which childish playfellows chase each other in a complicated interlace. This treatment of unified action became an absorbing interest. The scientists working in the third quarter of the fifteenth

century investigated the details of anatomy and the muscular system. Vasari says that Antonio Pollajuolo (1429–1498) was the first artist to dissect the body. The knowledge he obtained gave him a command over action hitherto unknown and he was impatient to put it to the test. Preparedness in pose was changed to anticipation, the muscles were tense, the figure vibrated with nervous energy. Sharp angles and abrupt changes in the direction of the axes of the body appeared whenever possible, subjects were selected which would bring into play the contraction and relaxation of the body and show its flexibility, and in conveying the idea of quick response to stimulus an emergized line was sometimes used to accentuate the masses of light and shadow. All this tended away from the broad treatment of Masaccio, where the mechanical side was subordinated to the inner meaning. Every device was used to accelerate the effect of motion by repetition. Donatello gives us the romping children. Paolo Uccello makes his company of bowmen run together up the hill. The contest, the dance, the chase, are favourite themes. Antonio Pollajuolo and Verrocchio were the leaders in this development, which culminated in such marvellous feats of drawing and design as Leonardo's "Battle of the Standard."

Both these men were sculptors as well as painters and did their best work in bronze. Their contact with hard material tended to make them emphasize contour; designing for bronze led them to break up areas into small planes and to introduce elaborate ornamental motives. Such characteristics appear repeatedly in Florentine paintings of the latter part of the century. Just as these men were maturing, the range of subject-matter was extended by the addition of classical myths. Interest in antiquity had been vivid since Petrarch's day (middle fourteenth century) and shortly after his death a professorship in Greek had been established in Florence. Original manuscripts were acquired in increasing numbers, and a fresh impulse was given by the influx of Eastern scholars after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. From about the middle of the century classical ruins appeared in the background of the Adoration, and myths and allegories furnished popular subjects for painting. Among the most famous of such pictures are examples by Pollajuolo, Pinturicchio, and Botticelli.

Such subjects provided exactly the opportunity these painters desired. Pollajuolo painted, among others, "Heracles and the Hydra," "Heracles Strangling Antæus," and "Apollo and Daphne." The small picture of "Heracles and the Hydra" in the

Uffizi (Pl. 15B) gives some suggestion of his power, but the pen-and-ink study for it in the British Museum carries irresistible force in the lightning-like swiftness of its line, the staccato touches articulating every joint, and the ferocious energy of the action. This is as abbreviated a notation of esthetic stimulus as one could find. It is identical in feeling with the concentrated fury of certain of Leonardo's drawings.

Pollajuolo was not always equally successful, and in his "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," in the National Gallery, the figures, seen in abrupt foreshortening as they bend over their cross-bows, move painfully, as if they were rheumatic. Each figure interests him as an individual problem, so that the group appears to be compiled from a number of life-class drawings. In some cases, no doubt, the attention given to muscles, tendons, and even veins, interferes with the general aspect of the figures. Action suffers by too much attention to mechanics. In spite of his knowledge of the muscular system and movement Pollajuolo remained all his life indifferent to beauty of proportion between the parts of the body. His figures are short-waisted and wasp-waisted, and the legs seem disproportionately long. But when a thigh or a lower limb escapes from the flying draperies (as in Daphne) his modelling is so sure that it has the actuality of a bit of classic sculpture.

Pollajuolo's influence was decisive in forming the style of Signorelli (1441–1523), an Umbro-Florentine painter working at first under Piero della Francesca at Arezzo. Although his art bears little resemblance to that of his first master, a similar seriousness of purpose united the two men. It was contact with Florentine art, however, that perfected Signorelli's means of expression and left an indelible stamp on his mind. He is notably lacking in the Umbrian love of space and simplicity, and although he uses Umbrian background motives (natural bridges, small distant groups, etc.), the planes of distance are not in proper relation and the result is apt to be confusing because his knowledge of colour values is defective.

A certain harshness characterizes not only the conceptions but the execution of his work. Although exaggerated in the photographs, the contrasts are extreme in the originals, and the line where the light and the shade meet shows little modulation. Textures are metallic or leathery, the result both of sharp contrasts and of lack of feeling for atmosphere. For this reason, Signorelli's work has little charm. But his colour is strong and

vigorous, in keeping with the boldness of his style. The Umbrian sentimentality of certain of his feminine types seems incongruous with their stalwart frames.

His nude women are neither elemental nor charming. They are too close to the individual model and they fall short of beauty, although it seems near to realization. Their skin is thick and there is nowhere any of the exquisite quality which of right belongs to the woman's figure. The painter's real interest lay in the masculine type; his martyrs are splendid athletes, his saints venerable old men or emaciated beggars bent double over the staffs on which they lean heavily, showing the play of muscles under the tanned skin. In the chapel of the Holy House at Loreto he painted the Twelve Apostles standing two by two about the eight-sided room, each strongly individualized and magnificently masculine. They are nearer to being prototypes for Michelangelo's prophets than any other figures produced in the fifteenth century.

He executed a great volume of work, and among his many altar-pieces those are the most impressive in which scenes from the Passion are treated—the "Descent from the Cross" or the "Pietà," stern and terrible pictures with a powerful expression of despairing grief. Sometimes the tension is relieved by the introduction of an auxiliary group in the distance with some lovely bit of Umbrian landscape as a background.

The Uffizi tondo combines Umbrian types with the interest of the Florentine scientist, which impelled him to introduce the pagan figures in the background.

A special interest attaches to the "Pan" (Pl. 17A) as one of the few surviving examples from mythological subjects. The surface has suffered from the removal of the heavy coat of paint with which the figures were at one time concealed. Hence the surface is left in a raw state and the details of the composition isolated.

Roger Fry found in the neo-Platonic writers of the fourth century the text which apparently furnished the inspiration for this composition: an exaltation of a goat-footed Pan as the embodiment of All Things, crowned by the light of sun and moon, clad in a mantle typifying the firmament. He was overcome by the love of Syrinx, for love conquers all things. Of the four figures which remain Fry makes the suggestion that they may represent the "four phases of activity of natural man—if Pan were the supreme god. The first phase is devoted to love; . . . the

second phase is that of the cultivation of rustic arts; . . . the third is that of intellectual activity; . . . the fourth is devoted to reverie and retrospection."

In the forms the artist has shown a characteristic attention to the bodies of youth, of maturity, and of old age. The female figure is perhaps the most beautiful example in Signorelli's work, falling short in charm but superb in the rendering of plastic reality. The combination in this figure of accurate knowledge with a heroic non-personal quality and a reluctance to appeal through feminine qualities approaches the attitude of certain painters of our own generation.

It was not until he was over sixty that Signorelli received a commission which was entirely congenial. This was the decoration of the chapel in the Cathedral of Orvieto which had been begun by Angelico fifty years earlier. The end of the world is depicted. The figure designs occupy a series of lunettes. The lower part of the wall is decorated with arabesques which form the setting for a number of portraits of poets of the nether world, surrounded by episodes illustrating their works, executed in grisaille (Pl. 15D). Each scene represents figures in rhythmic motion. It is interesting to compare the subjects from Dante with Botticelli's illustrations of the Divine Comedy. The grace and fantasy shown in the arabesque and the variation of scale and colour in this part of the decoration are indispensable to the success of the whole; without this relief, both the ideas and the method of presentation employed in the figure composition would be unendurable.

In the latter, it is Signorelli's intention to overwhelm the mind with terror and to afford no means of escape, not even so much as a tree or a sprig of grass. A naturalism with difficulty held within the bounds of decoration adds to the oppressiveness. Separate figures, nude or draped, might be mistaken for modern sketches from the model; a contemporary in tight trunks, with feet planted wide and arms akimbo looks like a descendant of Donatello's swaggering soldiers. The men of the final day of destruction who lurch forward and appear about to plunge into the room, the tormentors in human form binding the condemned, winged demons straight from Dante, and powerful angels, "birds of the Lord" sustained on mighty pinions—all bear witness to the intellectual and artistic vitality of their creator.

Signorelli has power to make us participate in all that he depicts. We share the superhuman energy of the archangels blow-

(*A*) Signorelli. Pan. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Piero della Francesca. [illegible] (Alinari)

(*C*) Perugino. Crucifixion. Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, Florence. (Anderson)

(*A*) Perugino. Vision of St. Bernard. Munich. (Bruckmann)

(*B*) Pinturicchio. Borgia Apartments, Vatican, Rome. (Alinari)

(*C*) Perugino. Christ delivering the Keys to Peter. Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. (Anderson)

ing their trumpets to raise the dead; the summons is irresistible: "The trumpet shall sound and the dead shall arise, and we shall be changed." In answer, life seems to seethe beneath the crust of the earth as the dead struggle to respond and at last break through, painfully disentangling their bodies from the weight of clay. Some are flesh, some skeletons only, as if they had had no time to wait for flesh, but even these are given an expression of expectant hope (Pl. 16c).

It was enough in developing this subject to create life, as the painter did convincingly, but the representation of the redeemed calls for an ideal quality of beauty which is lacking. He shows us men and women of the everyday world, without clothes, giving no suggestion of redeemed humanity, failing to interpret Paradise; the corruptible has not put on incorruption. They stand on firm ground in a compact mass; there is no distance and no spaciousness, no wide horizon of a new life. When Signorelli represents angels, all is changed. They are superhuman in their strength. Robust physique, masses of hair, a great stretch and sweep of wings give their heroic beauty.

The qualities which failed to interpret Heaven succeed in interpreting Hell. The scene of the condemned is terrifying, the crowding and congestion add to the pressure of despair. Through the confused struggling group of demons and their victims plays a fitful wave of changing gaseous colours; this is in reality the colour of the demons, but they are so closely interwoven with the other figures that it appears to embrace them both, as if to show how closely human life may approach the life of demons. All Signorelli's delight in the difficulty of interlaced groups is shown in the foreground, and the figures in the air pinioned on the backs of winged demons or hurled to destruction illustrate his mastery of foreshortening. This is nowhere better proved than in the figures that fall forward from the painted archway over the door; vainly trying to shut out the clamour, they crumple up under the rain of blood and fire hurled upon them by ashen-coloured demons. The mind quails before the force of this imagination.

As the successor of Pollajuolo and the ancestor of Michelangelo, the author of these frescos is bound into the succession of the Florentine masters of form.

CHAPTER IX

PERUGINO AND PINTURICCHIO

The commission for the decorations in Orvieto which Signorelli executed had first been offered to Perugino, one of the painters whose work was in most constant demand during the second half of the fifteenth century.

Perugino (1446–1523) belonged to the branch of the Umbrian school which adhered more closely than the Umbro-Florentine group to native tendencies. His local master may have been Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, a painter of importance but one whose career and whose works remain matters of considerable uncertainty, although his personality gradually is being recovered.

It is believed that Perugino came into touch with Florentine training at some time, as his work shows a vigour of draughtsmanship which he could not easily have acquired in Umbria. Few early works remain, but that he was regarded as one of the leading artists by 1481 is proven by his inclusion in a group of painters from Florence called by Sixtus IV. to take part in the decoration of the chapel which he had recently added to the Vatican. This project was one of great importance and the collaboration of a number of painters affords an instructive opportunity for comparative study.

The Sistine Chapel at this time was lighted by windows on three sides. Between them appear the portraits of historic popes standing in painted niches. Beneath the windows, the wall is divided into rectangular panels by painted pilasters. Here are represented scenes from Old and New Testaments by which the lives of Moses and Christ are paralleled. The series begins on the altar wall and meets on the entrance wall.

A list of the subjects and of the principal painters who took part in the decoration is given on the next page.

FRESCOS IN THE SISTINE CHAPEL

Parallel Scenes from the Lives of

Moses		and	*Christ*	
1. Finding of Moses.	Perugino.		1. Adoration of Magi.	Perugino.
2. Journey of Moses.	Pinturicchio and Perugino.		2. Baptism.	Pinturicchio.
3. Moses and the Daughters of Jethro.	Botticelli.		3. Temptation.	Botticelli.
4. Destruction of Pharaoh.	School of Ghirlandajo formerly attributed to Cosimo Rosselli and Piero di Cosimo.		4. Calling of Peter and Andrew.	Ghirlandajo.
5. Moses destroying Tables of the Law.	Cosimo Rosselli.		5. Sermon on the Mount.	Cosimo Rosselli.
6. Destruction of Children of Korah.	Botticelli.		6. Christ giving the Keys to Peter.	Perugino.
7. Death of Moses.	Bartolommeo della Gatta and Signorelli.		7. Last Supper and Crucifixion.	Cosimo Rosselli.
8. Contest for body of Moses.	Salviati.		8. Resurrection.	Ghirlandajo.

This decorative scheme, with single figures between the windows and a great frieze of paintings illustrating types and prototypes surrounding the chapel, recalls the decoration of the Early Christian basilicas. It must have been very impressive when it was viewed for the first time on the Feast of the Assumption, 1483.

The opening scenes were painted by Perugino but unfortunately they no longer exist. In 1534 the decorations of the end wall were destroyed and the windows above the altar filled in to provide an unbroken area for Michelangelo's "Last Judgment," which now occupies the entire space. The example of Perugino's work which remains, "Christ Delivering the Keys to Peter" (Pl. 18c),

is thoroughly characteristic. On a great paved esplanade the scene is set forth. In the distance a beautiful domed tempietto forms the central motive, on each side of which are triumphal arches.

The action takes place in the immediate foreground. From right and left, a procession of Apostles, two by two, has moved slowly forward. They have halted to witness the ceremony as Christ bends forward to invest the kneeling Peter with the keys of Heaven and Hell. The figures stand out in isolation as in a tableau; no great effort had been made to give the impression of group solidarity. The usual types of old age, middle age, and adolescence are employed for the Apostles, who lack intellectuality. But this group is flanked at each side by bystanders, and here are portraits as fine as any in the chapel. They are drawn boldly and are full of life. Among them are men of affairs, and papal courtiers; the bull-necked "vital" type is well done, and the benignant kindly face at the right is very fine. But Perugino's peculiar excellence is not revealed through analysis of detail. It is perceived only when we regard his work from a sufficient distance to realize the dignity and beauty of the general effect. This results from the harmonious relation of every part and from the utilization of space itself as a factor in composition. Berenson, in his essay on space composition, shows by what means the impression of space is given and analyses its psychological effect. The distant figures, which are smaller than we would expect from their place in the picture plane, increase the apparent size of the Apostles, emphasized also by the tessellation of the pavement against which we measure them. The eye moves inward, delighting in the sensations of freedom and expansion, and rests with satisfaction on the buildings and distant landscape. Purely technical devices thus become interpretative and the organization of the picture strengthens the conception in which the boundless horizons and eternal stability of the church are symbolized.

Perugino's popularity brought him more orders than he could fill. There was a demand for repetitions of some of his loveliest works (like the Pitti "Pietà"), and though at first he refused to make replicas, gradually, under pressure, he lowered his standard. His original conceptions, the result of sincere if somewhat sentimental feeling, soon became stereotyped. One recipe sufficed for all, and often the use of the same cartoon may be traced through a series of years, employed with slight variation now for a male, now for a female figure. The outer appearance, the "shadow shapes" of the world as they pass before him, he records, but he is often too

indifferent to make compelling symbols. They lack integrity. Virtue has not gone out from him in creative effort. The axes of the body are arranged in an equilibrium which is palpably artificial, and in his last period the drawing becomes slovenly. Emotion is shown by tipping the head this way or that, up or down, forward or back. The beauty of the Umbrian type is illustrated in all his works—the pure oval of the face framed in soft dark hair, the delicate modelling around the eye, and the buttonhole mouth, used for youth and maiden and even for Roman hero! In his late work sweetness often degenerates into sentimentality.

When it comes to the setting, his interest is enlisted at once. If he uses architecture it is simple and unornamented, beautifully proportioned in itself and unerringly placed within his picture plane. When his figures stand before these supports, as in the "Vision of St. Bernard" (Pl. 18A), they no longer seem unstable, and they acquire a stateliness resulting entirely from the proportion and scale of the surroundings. Often the arches frame a sky limpid and far extending, whose ethereal clarity is accentuated by the firmness of the defining contour. In landscape backgrounds Perugino excels all his contemporaries. At first he shows the influence of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, using a kind of botanical garden. Trees of different varieties with tall slender trunks spread their foliage against the sky in a thin filigree that suggests pressed seaweed. Sometimes abrupt perpendicular rocks and natural bridges are introduced. The detail of foreground growth is naturalistic and shows careful observation. All these characteristics are illustrated in the "Crucifixion" in the Hermitage, known as the "Galazzine Raphael." But he quickly passes from this ornamental style to a broader unity of forms in which detail becomes subordinate to the planes of foreground, middle distance, and far distance. The handling of clouds and mountains is sometimes almost modern (see predella, Metropolitan Museum—"a consummate trifle," Rankin). Wherever a view of landscape appears, it is felt emotionally by the painter, even if it is merely a thread of distance against a wide sky. Here Perugino is really great. Cox says that in the rendering of space in landscape he was the greatest of all masters save only Raphael; he adds with perhaps undue severity, "The rest is ecclesiastical millinery." His colour generally is harmonious. Sometimes, as in the Certosa "Madonna," he uses a splendid azure which ranges through the entire panel. Against its lovely depth the angels appear like celestial fleurs-de-lis.

Perugino lived until 1523, but his late work was done chiefly for provincial towns, his great pictures having been executed in the last decade of the fifteenth century. He excels in one mood, that of languorous bystander, and his best works are those in which the serenity of motionless figures is sufficient interpretation: the Crucifixion, after the struggle has been succeeded by death; the Pietà, in which tears flow unrestrained; St. Bernard mildly marvelling at the apparition of the Virgin; and the shepherds, neat Noah's Ark figures, disposed in adoration about the newborn Saviour.

The "Vision of St. Bernard" has already been mentioned. It is an example of a harmony so complete that subject and actors are forgotten. It is like music, like a summer day, like a silent church. The sky is modulated from a summer blue to the warm light of the distant horizon. The landscape is blue-green, but the foreground figures stand in a warm illumination. The flesh is gold, the whites golden umber; deep cobalt, leaf greens, and cardinal with violet shadows appear in the draperies (Pl. 18A).

Perugino left one unforgettable fresco in Florence, the "Crucifixion" in Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi (Pl. 17C), painted in 1496. From across the room one seems to look through a three-arched casement upon an Umbrian landscape stretching to the blue horizon; the undulating hills which form a common background are interlaced in the central panel, binding the parts firmly together. The mourners, standing motionless and isolated, follow a broad pedimental line rising to the figure on the central cross. No sound breaks the stillness. The life of the individual is merged in that of Nature, his fevers quieted in her magnanimous peace. "Earth hath no sorrow that Heaven cannot heal." Here Perugino's lyric style rises to real poetry. This picture makes a sanctuary of the tiny room which it adorns.

At this time Perugino was receiving more commissions than he could undertake and when, in 1499, he accepted the invitation to decorate the Cambio in Perugia, it was apparently with a special appreciation of the honour offered him by his adopted city. It is of primary importance because here only can we estimate the painter as an interior decorator.

This is one of the rare interiors of the Italian Renaissance which remain unaltered. It is almost impossible to form any conception of the effect of the room unless one stands beneath its vaulted ceiling ornamented in the new fashion of the day with arabesques and medallions, dainty and graceful in design. The lunettes above

the inlaid dado appear to open out shallow apses about the small chamber. It is easy to forget to be critical here. One is indifferent to faults of drawing and puerile conceptions, although they abound. The qualities of space composition, harmony, and scale redeem work that, judged apart from its setting, would seem slipshod enough. Indeed, one is almost inclined to feel that the very inadequacies of individual figures or compositions give greater coherence to the whole; unquestionably the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

From such achievements, we should rank Perugino very high. Crowe and Cavalcaselle say somewhere, "Leonardo created the 'Mona Lisa' and Perugino the Certosa 'Madonna,'" but the inference is not altogether just. Perugino's outlook was narrow and the field in which he excelled was restricted, and if Cox has been severe in his analysis, at least he has shown in what direction both the strength and the weakness of the painter lay. However, some even of his late works "show the man in love with his craft and with beauty" (Rankin).

In 1481 when Perugino accepted the summons to Rome, he was accompanied by his fellow citizen, Pinturicchio (1454–1513), a painter ten years his junior. Pinturicchio's style was derived from Umbrian training and apparently he came into no closer contact with Florence than that which resulted from his presence among the group of artists working in the Sistine Chapel. Opinion differs as to his share in the two works there which are generally associated with his name, the "Journey of Moses" and the "Baptism." They are characteristically Umbrian in landscape forms, vignette treatment of groups in the middle distance, grace of drawing, and charm of colour.

His talent was quickly appreciated and his independent work may be judged in the scenes from the life of St. Bernard in the Church of Ara Cœli, executed in the same decade. They are typical in spaciousness, beauty of colour, and lack of profundity.

Pinturicchio was busily employed in Rome for the next twenty-five years. The most notable commission was that for the decoration of the apartments of Alexander VI. in the Vatican. These magnificent rooms exhibit the most lavish use of marble, mosaics, etc., and Pinturicchio's decorations enhance the splendour by the addition of paintings covering walls and vaulted ceilings with an incrustation of colour like that of a peacock's feather (Pl. 18B). The effect is further enriched by the introduction as a part of the paintings of architectural details built up in gesso. If the method

is somewhat barbaric, the result almost justifies the means, for as long as we are in the rooms the delight of the senses seems to be a sufficient excuse. No one of the pictures would bear careful analysis, but there are many interesting details, among which the portrait of the Borgia pope adoring the risen Christ may be mentioned.

In the opening years of the sixteenth century, Pinturicchio decorated the library of the Cathedral of Siena with a cycle from the life of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, delightful as descriptive narrative but less successful from the decorative standpoint. Although inferior to Perugino he shared with him the Umbrian command over space which delights us in his final frescos in the little town of Spello.

The discussion of these artists has carried us well into the sixteenth century, and in estimating their rank it is important to remember that they both outlived Leonardo, whose profound studies and comprehensive style seem to belong to a subsequent age.

(*A*) Botticelli. Madonna and Child. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. (Marr)

(*B*) Baldovinetti. Madonna and Child. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*C*) Verrocchio. Baptism. Uffizi, Florence. (Bruckmann)

(*D*) Ghirlandajo. Old Man and Child. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*A*) Botticelli. Spring. Uffizi, Florence. (Anderson)

(*B*) Botticelli. History of Moses. Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. (Anderson)

(*C*) Ghirlandajo. Calling of Peter and Andrew. Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. (Anderson)

CHAPTER X

BOTTICELLI AND GHIRLANDAJO

It has been said that one function of art is to transport us from here and now to some region of the imagination richer in poetic suggestion, and among Italian painters this applies best to Botticelli, "who recalls all at once whatever we have read of the fifteenth century." The great personalities of the day come unbidden to our memory: Pico della Mirandola longing to reconcile the wisdom of antiquity with the teaching of the church; Savonarola with his denunciations, which sent Botticelli with the rest to the bonfire of vanities; Lorenzo the Magnificent, now the inspiration of the Platonic Academy, now the carnival merry-maker with his bitter-sweet carol—

Quant' è bella giovinezza
Che si fugge tutta via
Chi vuol esser lieto sia,
Di doman non c'è certezza.[1]

An inability to reconcile the pagan world with the Christian inheritance, and the persistence of medieval modes of thought at the moment when the modern world was forming, are evident in the work of Botticelli (1444–1510) and make it representative of the confused allegiances of the Renaissance.

Like other great Italians, he was deeply influenced by Dante. He undertook the illustration of the "Divine Comedy" canto by canto; Vasari complains that he wasted much time over this project. Such a study must have made a profound impression on his mind, "not only in deepening his religious tendencies but in enriching his thought with the classic world of ideas . . . which was still alive in Dante." He was also swayed by the mystic teachings and prophecies of Savonarola; hence, although his outer life was uneventful, intellectually he was keenly alive.

[1] Fair is youth and void of sorrow,
But it hourly flies away—
Youths and maids enjoy to-day;
Naught ye know about to-morrow.

As an artist he was influenced by both the idealist and the naturalist schools. He was the pupil of Fra Filippo, and was peculiarly fitted to appreciate the "waywardness" of his master's style, his delight in beauty, and the delicacy of perception which he often showed. But Botticelli's work gives abundant evidence of close connection with the realists as well. His "Saint Augustine" might have been designed by Castagno, and the influence of Pollajuolo is evident here and elsewhere in peculiarities of form as well as in technical method. Botticelli had none of the specialized interests of a scientist, however. The nude concerned him primarily as an element in design and he failed to improve upon the strange proportions of the figure inherited from Pollajuolo. He made only such modifications in the treatment as were required to carry out his decorative idea. Personal bias is evident in everything he did; it is equally apparent in his conceptions and in his technique.

The line which Botticelli inherited from his master was Gothic line perfected by Simone Martini and brought to Florence through Lorenzo Monaco. It lost the intensity given it by Simone during the later fourteenth century and was often treated for its own sake rather than as a means of emotional expression. Botticelli reinvigorated it, and from the study of Pollajuolo learned to give it increased structural power. He consciously adopted the convention of line as it is described by Walter Crane, "a treaty between the mind and nature, signed by the free hand of the designer and sealed by the understanding and imagination." Every contour was firm, sustained, and vibrant. Any attempt to copy it proves with what intensity it was incised. It has the same finality as that produced by the Japanese brush, which requires a concentration achieved only after years of training.

But with this quality of power inherent in the medium itself he associated the interpretative function. Botticelli drew his inspiration from the same objective world to which his contemporaries had recourse, but it yielded to him a wealth of imaginative suggestion quite beyond their range. It is important to realize, however, that forms and types that we are tempted to call abstract have models behind them and have not lost contact with the concrete earth. In discussing the Dante drawings Mr. Rankin speaks of the "dematerialization of the objective vision with no impairment of its reality."

Botticelli sometimes excelled his contemporaries even on their own ground, for no portraits are stronger in documentation than

those of the Medici in the "Adoration of the Kings" (Uffizi). The same truthfulness marks heads in the Sistine frescos as well as such single portraits as the "Youth" (National Gallery) or the "Man with the Medallion" (Uffizi). Yet his interest was not absorbed by the objective world, nor were naturalistic aspects those that he chose to emphasize. As a decorative designer he avoids foreshortening, which presupposes the depth required for a given movement, since he is indifferent to the problems of plastic volume upon which the Florentine school as a whole was intent, and he conveys the sense of reality through *motion* rather than by three-dimensional form. Langfeld shows how consistently he avoids all the pressures by which weight is communicated and how he exhilarates us by endowing us with etheral lightness, free from bodily limitations.

The subjects treated by Botticelli may be classified roughly under narrative, devotional, and mythological scenes. It is perhaps easiest to discuss them under these headings.

In the Uffizi are two early companion panels illustrating the story of Judith and Holofernes. One shows the headless body of Holofernes discovered in his royal tent, the other Judith returning to the Israelitish camp. Holding an olive-branch in one abruptly bent-back hand, her curved sword in the other, she mounts a rise of ground with the wind blowing her draperies a-flutter. Her naked feet dance over the ground. She looks out with wide eyes; her childish face, a shield-shaped mass, and her hair, curling and braided in fantastic fashion, add to the innocence of her appearance. Behind her, with furtive gesture, stalks the servant, carrying on her head the half-concealed head of Holofernes. She thrusts her face forward so that it is seen as a foil to Judith's charms, while with one hand she lifts her skirts that they may not impede her swift movement. This might be a scene from the Arabian Nights. It is as foreign to the spirit of the Old Testament as anything one could imagine. Already we are aware of the temperament "fantastic and bizarre" which is revealed in Botticelli's most typical works.

In 1481 Botticelli was called to Rome to take part in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel. According to Vasari, the direction of the work was entrusted to him. He contributed to the series of single figures of the popes and executed three of the frescos in the cycle in which the lives of Moses and Christ are paralleled. In all these he excels in line, in portraiture, and in the virility of his draughtsmanship. His qualities are particularly well illus-

trated in the fresco depicting the early life of Moses (Pl. 20B). This is a narrative painting in which the figure of Moses appears seven times! No doubt this was unavoidable, as a certain amount of material had to be included in each picture. The series from the Old Testament begins at the left side of the altar. The scenes are therefore arranged in reverse order, to read from right to left. The incidents represented are Moses (1) killing the Egyptian, (2) fleeing from justice, (3) driving the shepherds from the well, (4) drawing water for the daughters of Jethro, (5) taking his shoes from off his feet, (6) meeting the Lord in the burning bush, and (7) leading the Children of Israel out of the land of Egypt. There is no difficulty in deciphering these episodes and no confusion in their arrangement, but the exigencies of the case here imposed on the painter a rather scattered grouping. His problem was to achieve unity without making too great a sacrifice. For the central motive he selected the romance at the well. From the standpoint of composition this was by far the best selection, as any one will understand; it afforded him a central interest and furnished the raison d'être for a beautiful grove, by means of which he provided stage exits and points of vantage for the various groups. By this means the episodes are held together and at the same time each is given adequate setting. A person who did not know the story would recognize no incongruity.

It was not only considerations of composition, however, that led Botticelli to feature the well scene so prominently. He was a poet and all the romance that gathers about the thought of shepherdesses and their flocks appealed to him in this motive. Never were there shepherdesses more unusual and arresting than the daughters of Jethro with their strange costumes, their elaborately coiled hair, and their elfin faces poised on long necks. It is all so unexpected that the eye is constantly delighting in new surprises. The procession at the left suggests the influence of Fra Filippo in spirit and in certain heads; in the charming motive of the little boy carrying his puppy tucked under his arm—the woman who bends over him still shows the facial type of Fra Filippo. There are many magnificent portraits such as that of the swarthy oriental in a great turban. The soft colour of the figures is played through the greens of the landscape and is kept sufficiently quiet to preserve the decorative flatness.

If Hebrew history reads so strangely, it is not surprising to find an equally personal undercurrent in Botticelli's devotional pictures. One of his earliest Madonnas is that at the Isabella Stew-

art Gardner Museum, the so-called "Chigi Madonna" (Pl. 19A). Certain details of drawing show Pollajuolo's influence, while the arrangement at the casement is based on Fra Filippo, though already the harmony is more perfect.

But the mood, which seems to require explanation, very soon impresses us. Why should the Virgin be so sad? When we look attentively, we see that with foreknowledge of his destiny she gathers for the Christ Child wheat and grapes, the symbols of the Passion. "Botticelli's conceptions are as original as his feeling is solemn, mysterious and suggestive." On the pedestal of the Virgin's throne, in one of his later works, the "Madonna of St. Barnabas," is inscribed from Dante the opening line of St. Bernard's hymn, "O Virgin, mother, daughter of Thy Son," which furnishes the clue to Botticelli's religious meditations. He shows none of Angelico's child-like happiness, for paradox enthralls his mind. Hidden and enigmatical meanings fascinate him. The groping of the human spirit, baffled before divine mysteries, is his subject. This undercurrent of thought is present in all his religious pictures.

Nor did he free himself from it altogether in pagan myths; often he treated them " in the spirit of medieval mysticism." Symonds says: "It was Italy's vocation to resuscitate antiquity, to gather up afresh the products of the classic past and so to blend them with the medieval spirit as to generate what is specifically modern." In Botticelli the two are inexorably bound together. Even in pictures that have been called "reanimate Greek," he has failed to recapture the serenity of the pre-Christian age. He saw the pagan world through the coloured glass of medievalism. "Spring" (Pl. 20A) was the first picture in which so complex a mind was expressed in painting. We may still ask Rossetti's question, "What masque of what old wind-weathered New Year honours this lady?" The motive, according to Horne, was suggested by Lucretius, but it makes little difference what theme is illustrated, for the appeal is made through the manner of presentation. The picture is the norm for Botticelli's style; the technical qualities illustrated here will be found to some degree in all his work. It is in an "extraordinary state of preservation" (Horne) and is one of the most beautiful examples of colour in Florentine painting. It has a mellowness that suggests tapestry. The gold pointed leaves cut boldly against the pale turquoise of the sky, which becomes green in hue in the figure of Zephyrus. Venus and Hermes wear mantles of clear

cherry red; the diaphanous veils of the Graces are like a smoke-tree in blossom. The greens are bronze, and the foreground is carpeted with a mille-fleurs pattern, like star points in the grass.

The resemblance to tapestry is carried out also in the flatness and intricacy of this surface decoration. The element of depth, often subordinated, is sometimes, as here, entirely eliminated by Botticelli. The orange grove is a drop-curtain brought very close to the actors. The trees are silhouetted against the sky, the interplay of the dark and light masses determining the principal rhythm. A screen of finer growth is arranged behind the figure of Venus, to whom attention is called by the Cupid above. She presides with an air of pensive inquiry. The Graces standing "'neath bower-linked arch of white arms glorified" are not Graces in their bodily form but only in their exquisite unity as a group. Their rhythms are not the repetition of a calisthenic exercise, but as in the figures of a dance, the individual is part of a complex organism.

Encountered in the actual world these figures would be considered far from beautiful; indeed to take their poses, imitating the sharp angles of wrist or elbow, would be a difficult feat. It is clear that Castagno or Pollajuolo would have chosen entirely different movements, in order to accentuate three-dimensional space and give added naturalism to the figures. Botticelli's love of intricacy has full play in the treatment of the hair, which is massed and coiled and braided and even contrived into a necklace from which to hang a pendant! Flora, flower-crowned and flower-bedecked, half smiles with "a wistfulness which is the wistfulness of animals, and in which the soul and its regrets have no part."

In his exquisite analysis of the art of Botticelli, Laurence Binyon compares "pattern" in a work of art to quick hungry flame which without fuel burns out and dies down. The fuel is the representative matter which the painter fuses in its heat. The more powerful and glowing the rhythmical force in the painter's nature, the more matter will he be able to fuse into his design. Illustrations may be found in all great art, but the application is most pertinent in the case of Botticelli.

The "Birth of Venus" (Pl. 22B) was done after his return from Rome. It is a little simpler than "Spring." Here the sea is unbounded but treated conventionally to avoid the suggestion of space. The promontories of land vary the pattern but have little reality. The group of the entwined winds is a superb instance of rhythm and of swiftness as well as of quality of line. The central figure poised on a shell answers like a sail to their breath.

Her heavy hair is lifted in numberless undulating strands. Her strangely proportioned figure conforms with absolute perfection to the requirements of the design. Could one think to improve upon the result by making her more like real life? The garment of the awaiting nymph billows in the wind, drawn in at knee, ankle, and waist almost as if caught by an invisible thread. At these points the folds are closely bunched. The tugging and flapping and rippling of the draperies and the inflated cloak serve to accelerate the force of the wind.

"Venus and Mars" in the National Gallery is a supreme instance of linear harmony—in which a pattern like that on a Greek vase is created.

In his late period, Botticelli often became vehement. In "Calumny," a small picture in which he was inspired by Lucian's description of a painting by Apelles, his figures are like leaves scuttling before the wind, now driving them forward, now swirling them into a corner. Even the architectural statues in the niches seem to sway in sympathy. Botticelli's movement was always nervous; in his late works it is sometimes too impetuous.

Botticelli was distinctly the product of his age and yet it is by his ability to see with a peculiar poignancy which was his individual gift that he is distinguished, and although he chose to concentrate upon one technical mode of expression he carried it to so high a degree of perfection that it became an adequate vehicle for a comprehensive art. He embroidered his panels with an intricate pattern of light and dark, with forms interwoven and interdependent, "in labyrinthine intricacy through which the grace of order may give continual clue" (Ruskin). His execution combined the precision of a goldsmith with the swiftness of the Japanese; Berenson calls him the greatest master of line in Europe; Cox, the greatest in the world.

As interpreter, he charms us by "that undercurrent of original sentiment which appeals to us as the real *matter* of the picture through the veil of its ostensible subject" (Pater).

In turning from this individualist to a painter who was the spokesman of the middle class with its sound common sense and indifference to the call of uncharted worlds of the intellect, readjustment is necessary.

Ghirlandajo (1449–1494) was connected with the moderate branch of Florentine naturalism through his master Baldovinetti (1425–1499), who in his early work was idealistic and even mystic. "Later the artist was killed by the craftsman" (Berenson). But

in the "Virgin and Child" of the Louvre (Pl. 19B), Baldovinetti reached an abstract beauty seldom attained in Western painting. The repetition of the pyramidal line and its arrangement in the field were calculated, Offner feels, to overcome what he calls the obsession of plastic weight. The result certainly approaches oriental art in its release from the material world. The mood of abstraction is strengthened by the colour scheme.

The deep cardinal of the Virgin's robe is encased in her mantle of old blue, lined with black. The Child rests on a vermilion cushion. The landscape is treated in shades of umber. The ivory of the Virgin's face is delicately defined against the pale cerulean sky; the simple lines of the veil vary the contour of the head. Her position is almost frontal, her lids downcast, her mouth reminiscent of a smile, her hands folded in prayer. She is remote and imperturbable, like Buddha. The background is a little uncouth with its jagged hills and serpentine river, but the ensemble of figure and landscape, as well as the inscrutable expression, show in germ the elements of Leonardo's "Mona Lisa." It was not this rare quality, however, which influenced Ghirlandajo, but rather the Baldovinetti of the later period, intent upon objective effects.

A comparison of Ghirlandajo's enthroned Madonna with that of Baldovinetti in the Uffizi illustrates the relationship. But Ghirlandajo was heir to the whole Florentine movement. He was in some ways the most logical outgrowth of the earlier tradition which he continued with such modifications as were caused by temperament and training. He died in 1494, but preserved to the end a consistent style. His work shows no sign of the intellectual interests of his day and breathes none of the fervour that we think of as belonging to all fifteenth century life. We should not know that Machiavelli was a contemporary, or Poliziano a fellow citizen. It is a middle-class view of Florence which he gives, more concerned with the routine of the household and the values of the market place than with the stirring life of the imagination. We enjoy his art with little intellectual effort or stimulation.

The painting of the "Calling of Peter and Andrew" in the Sistine Chapel illustrates his usual ordering of composition (Pl. 20C). If we turn back to Giotto, Masaccio, and Fra Filippo, we have an opportunity to compare both composition and conception. His figures are much smaller in scale in relation to the field of the picture than is the case in the preceding. This necessitates the use of a larger number of people, and a more panoramic background. Ghirlandajo often shows a river bank or a coast line, and

(*A*) Justus van Ghent and Melozzo da Forli. Music. National Gallery, London. (Anderson)

(*B*) Filippino Lippi. Vision of St. Bernard. The Badia, Florence. (Anderson)

(*C*) Ghirlandajo. The Pope Confirmating the Franciscan Order. S. Trinità, Florence. (Alinari)

(*A*) Leonardo. Madonna of the Rocks. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*B*) Botticelli. Birth of Venus. Uffizi, Florence. (Anderson)

sometimes it is possible to recognize the buildings of a known locality in the towns on the shore. The middle distance enables him to introduce auxiliary scenes to the narrative without encroaching on the main story. In this instance, he shows Christ calling the disciples from their nets and preaching on the shore. Quite a new aspect is given to the picture by the augmented groups of spectators. There are no bystanders in Giotto or Masaccio—that is, there are no people present who are there by chance. Ghirlandajo gives us mob psychology. Something happens which attracts the attention of a passer-by. He stops to see what is going on, and an increasing number of people gather because some one else is interested—they may even be unable themselves to see anything that takes place. They are not so much interested in what takes place as they are afraid they may miss something. These flanking groups have been compared to the chorus in a Greek drama. They have no part to perform at the moment but stand in readiness to respond when their turn comes. But the presence of the "unemployed" is bound to lower the dramatic temperature of the whole picture. Ghirlandajo was a gifted portrait painter, and the people of his day were glad of the opportunity which the spectators afforded for the introduction of contemporary likenesses. Probably the painter himself was equally pleased with this opportunity. He enjoyed doing what he did so well. He was anxious that each individual should be given equal prominence, and arranged the heads like a hand of cards, one beyond the other —but what was gained in local interest was lost in concentration.

On his return to Florence Ghirlandajo painted scenes from the life of St. Francis in Santa Trinità. His greatest work was done here. The general disposition of the masses especially that of the altar-wall, is excellent. The colour also is fine. Grey corresponding to the stone-work of the church is the predominant tone. The groups are treated in Indian red, slate-blue with blue-silver lights, and grape with lilac lights. The death of the saint is particularly instructive to compare with Giotto's picture in Santa Croce, which served Ghirlandajo as a model. With all the advantages he possesses in knowledge and in naturalism, he has not improved on his model. He has fallen short because he has given a genre scene instead of an interpretation of universal human experience.

The masterpiece of the series is the "Confirming of the Franciscan Order" (Pl. 21c). The architectural background is spacious and impressive, almost anticipating Raphael. The main incident is given prominence even if it is not treated with any great degree

of inspiration, but Ghirlandajo's ingenuity is shown in his method of satisfying the demand for contemporary portraits without sacrificing the artistic effect. A group of three on-lookers is introduced at the extreme right, among whom the strong features of Lorenzo de' Medici are unmistakable. But Lorenzo wished to have included other members of his household. It was a stroke of genius to build, in the immediate foreground, a flight of steps in such a position that persons mounting them and thus brought into a central position should be visible to the breast only. In this way his clients were kept subordinate, but at the same time were gratified by their large scale and prominent position. Lorenzo's little son and his tutor Poliziano mount the stairs. The hawk-like features of the poet are seen in profile; the lad looks straight out of the picture with winning frankness.

Ghirlandajo's best known paintings were executed in the choir of Santa Maria Novella. The effect of the high narrow walls is decorative, but in spite of the beauty of individual figures and details, the pictures suffer from an over-amount of ornamentation and from a style too purely genre. At this time the painter had many assistants. Add to this fact the success of his portraiture, which forced him to include more contemporaries than could possibly be absorbed pictorially. Berenson has reproduced in his book, "The Drawings of the Florentine Painters," the sketch prepared by Ghirlandajo for the "Birth of the Virgin." Compare this with the finished fresco and see how his whole plan for concentrating interest on the washing of the child had to be sacrificed in order to increase the number of visitors. Although the group of women is admired as one of the finest examples of portraiture in the century, the picture Ghirlandajo had intended to paint was never executed. The scenes are full of information for the student of interior decoration and costume, and delightful because of the enjoyment which the painter took in doing them.

It is hard to omit other important pictures like the beautiful "Last Supper" of Ognissanti or the "Adoration of the Shepherds," but one other example must be included. This is the portrait of Sassetti and his grandson in the Louvre (Pl. 19D). Here was a man with a repulsive deformity. It was Ghirlandajo's habit to paint things as they were. How was he to handle this subject and make it not only tolerable but even winning? He did it by making us look through the eyes of the grandchild who feels nothing but affection for the old man and sees only the reality behind the mask. How eager and how tender the little body

appears. This is one of the most touching pictures in the world. In much of his work, Ghirlandajo shows a middle-class mind, but this is a wonderful evidence of finer sensibilities.

Ghirlandajo was one of the best technicians of the century. A close examination of his frescoed walls shows the rapidity and ease with which he handled his brushes. He falls below Giotto in dramatic power and depth of feeling and below Masaccio in imagination and significance, but the average of his work is very high. He pursues a *via media*, never falling into slovenly ways, for he loves his work, but seldom striking a highly imaginative note.

Filippino Lippi (1457–1504) was born a decade later than Botticelli and Ghirlandajo; he matured early and died before his fiftieth year. He was the son of Fra Filippo, who left him under the care of Botticelli, but he was so responsive to every influence that his own personality was at times almost wholly submerged, and, like those submitting to hypnotic suggestion, his powers were weakened, and his last work appears to be that of a neurotic.

At the opening of his career Filippino was commissioned to finish the decoration of the Brancacci Chapel, which had remained incomplete for sixty years. The Florentines seem to have been inspired to wait for the one man who could subordinate himself entirely to another's spirit. He was completing the work of a youth of his own age, and some splendid realization of his responsibility strengthened brain and hand so that he completed it in a manner that would have been acceptable to Masaccio himself. The "Crucifixion of Peter" was the only large original composition which he added, but he also finished the "Raising of the King's Son." The parts executed by Filippino lack the boldness of Masaccio, they are more evenly illuminated, and his interest in portrait heads leads to greater detail (Pl. 10c).

In the final fresco from the life of Peter, representing the trial and crucifixion, Filippino has succeeded in producing a noble effect with the almost impossible subject of Peter's crucifixion, but there is a distinct conflict of interests in the work as a whole. A vista through the arched opening in the centre of the picture, while it charms the eye, diverts the attention from the narrative and introduces a rival interest in a *plane* entirely beyond the range of the important part of the picture. In both examples his ability as a portrait painter is well illustrated. Particularly fine are the figures at the extreme right in the trial scene in which the painter himself and his master Botticelli have been recognized.

In the "Vision of St. Bernard" (Pl. 21B), painted a little earlier, idealistic tendencies are strong. Here he appears as the successor of his father and of Botticelli. The head of the saint is delicate and refined and the tremulous ecstasy of the visionary is well suggested. The Virgin is sad and this sentiment in his later works becomes dolorous. Through all the loveliness of his pictures premonition of decay is felt; they lack the virility of Botticelli.

Filippino executed an important series of frescos in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. Venturi says: "The sweet timid Filippino becomes baroque in Rome," and by the time he accepted the commission for a chapel in Santa Maria Novella he had lost the sense of proportion and monumental design. The figures are so small that huge buildings have to be manufactured to fill the background spaces. These are without feeling for architectural design, unwieldy and over-ornate. He had come back from Rome with antiquarian interests, having failed to gain any real knowledge of the classical spirit. He introduces a great number of objects that might form the stock-in-trade of an antique shop. His figures are unscientifically grouped and they appear almost grotesque from their exaggerated gestures, often isolated against the sky. A breathless haste which is suggestive of the cinema seizes all his actors. Scarfs fly, dogs bark, children run in terror as a melodramatic St. John conjures Drusiana back to life.

CHAPTER XI

LEONARDO DA VINCI

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was the earliest master of the High Renaissance. He began his career in the same decade as Ghirlandajo and Botticelli, and he outlived the latter by only nine years; but we think of him as belonging to a later generation, for his art may be called complete in a sense which would not apply to the art of any of his contemporaries.

Although he was prepared to take advantage of every achievement of the preceding century, what he produced was the fruit of creative joy, not of inherited knowledge. Leonardo considered painting his real profession, but his activities were so manifold that though the quality of his imagination is suggested in his paintings they can give no conception of the range of his mind, which "was equally at home in speculative philosophy, physical science, and applied mathematics." It has been said that "the artistic, inventive, and reasoning faculties were never so completely developed before or since." He left manuscript notes dealing with scientific subjects, with applied mathematics, with the practice and theory of the arts. The pages are illustrated with sketches and diagrams which flowed from his pen as naturally as the letters of the alphabet. Leonardo's experiments in the use of media resulted in the loss or deterioration of a number of his paintings, but he seems to have been indifferent to material results and to have preserved the same detached attitude towards his own productions as towards the universe. He was a man of great personal charm, but he does not appear to have had any of the strong loyalties which so embittered the life of Michelangelo. He has been called the Italian Faust, and the illusive and enigmatical qualities which appear in his paintings seem also to have characterized his personality.

Leonardo led a wandering life, leaving Florence, while still a young man, at the summons of Ludovico Sforza. He remained in Milan until the end of the century, returning to Florence after the fall of the Sforza family. Shortly afterwards he was travelling through Italy making topographical maps and designing fortifications for Caesar Borgia. Later upon returning to Florence,

he received the commission for the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio. The cartoon of this scene from Florentine history, which included the struggle for the standard, excited the deepest enthusiasm. The work was never executed and the cartoon perished. Afterward he returned to Milan to work under French patronage and eventually followed Francis I. on his return to France, where he died in 1519.

Leonardo began his study of painting with Verrocchio, who held first rank as a sculptor both in bronze and in marble in the late fifteenth century, and whose bottega was the centre of progressive studies; here he had as fellow students Perugino and Lorenzo di Credi. There are such uncertainties with regard to Verrocchio's work as a painter that his greatness must be judged from such sculpture as the equestrian statue of Colleoni, the Tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici in San Lorenzo, and the highly refined and beautiful portrait busts in marble.

The one authentic painting by Verrocchio is the "Baptism" in the Uffizi probably executed about 1470 (Pl. 19c). The figures of the Baptist and Christ afforded the enthusiastic anatomist great opportunities. Saint John, a close-knit, agile type, with an almost distressing angularity and tenseness, is represented with concentrated force, the muscles and tendons only thinly veiled with flesh. The execution itself is achieved with an almost breathless intensity. In the fuller forms of the figure of Christ, the investigator has taken up the study of surface modelling with equal zest. The heads of both command our admiration by their painstaking devotion to truth of form and of surface. With these qualities impressed upon the mind we turn to the angels at the left. Are we right in feeling here something different in kind rather than in degree? Vasari says that Leonardo painted an angel in this picture, and even if both were executed from Verrocchio's cartoon, as some believe, they have been given a beauty and maturity not found in the other figures—nor is there anything like them in contemporary or earlier painting: they recall the work of such sculptors as Desiderio, who excelled in delicacy and refinement. The main figures bear witness to laborious research; these childish forms appear to have been created painlessly. Notice the poise of the head with its cascades of waving hair, the gracious humanity of the face, the radiance of expression, the hands laid delicately one on the other, the warmth and fulness of form beneath the draperies. This is a rehearsal of the qualities which characterize Leonardo's authentic works.

About 1481 Leonardo received a commission for an "Adoration of the Kings" (Pl. 24B). The picture was never completed, but the underpainting still exists in the Uffizi, a thinly laid-in preparation in dull green and mahogany on an ochre ground difficult in parts to decipher. Ordinarily the "Adoration" had been shown in profile, the Virgin seated at one side and the kings advancing in a procession, but, in keeping with the compositional ideals of the fifteenth century, experiments had been made leading to a more compact composition, and shortly before Leonardo received this commission Botticelli had treated the subject in a centralized scheme, once in a rectangular form and again in a tondo, where he took advantage of the opportunity to echo the boundary lines in a series of arched openings in the ruins above the Virgin's head. It was an expansion of this compositional scheme which was used by Leonardo.

The central pyramidal group is set against a mass of figures forming irregular concentric circles; the organization is thus consolidated without disturbing the dominance of the principal figures. The central group is composed of the Virgin and Child and the worshipping kings, with two quiet figures at right and left dimly discerned. Behind these three, who occupy the foreground plane, the crowds cry out greetings or invitations to those beyond the frame, the lines of extended hand or arm again lead back towards the Virgin immediately above whose head rises a straight tree-trunk. Seated facing the left, she turns with inclined head towards the king on the right; this rich complexity of movement is repeated in the action of the Child. The drapery which falls straight down from the Virgin's arm beneath that of the Child (not seen in the photograph) repeats the vertical of the tree-trunk and accentuates the curved contours of the figures. The group could be transferred into plastic material without alteration, for the design is compact, minor forms are subordinated to a general mass-contour, and the diversified action suggests varied beauty from every side. To represent it on a flat surface required a command of figure drawing and foreshortening far beyond any of Leonardo's contemporaries; the differences can be seen by comparing this picture with any of the wall frescos executed at this date in the Sistine Chapel.

The composition and conception alike depend on dramatic contrasts, lights and shadows, movement and rest, serenity and emotion. With a mother's obliviousness to all the disturbance around her—the neighing horses and pressing crowds—the Virgin

sits absorbed in the Child and the adoring old man. Behind her surge all the peoples of the world—exuberant figures instinct with joyous life. They push forward in such a way that the final act of humble adoration of one king seems to be the culmination of the action of all: the goal to which each would come. In no other rendering of this subject is quite the same thrilling interpretation given of the following of a star.

It may be regarded as fortunate that the "Adoration" was left incomplete. In this state it suggests a more mature conception of form than is shown in the highly finished "Madonna of the Rocks" (Pl. 22A) painted shortly afterwards. This extraordinary picture has no prototype; it is original in composition, conception, and technical method. There is little to hint at the ostensibly religious nature of the theme, the beauty of the Virgin and the angel having a haunting strangeness more characteristic of wood nymphs than of heavenly beings. Mystery is suggested by the unfamiliar elements of the background, the cavern, and the mirage-like distance. The resonance of the colour is splendid. The peacock blue of the Virgin's mantle is repeated in the stained glass quality of the upper sky. The figures gradually emerge from the coloured depths of the picture into a brilliant light, and Leonardo has given infinite care to the modelling, more delicate and highly finished than anything previously attempted in painting. He has not been satisfied with a generalized treatment, but has sought to establish the subtle gradations of tone from light to dark, and by this mastery of minor surface modelling he suggests the silky texture of the skin. In the bodies of the children, the forms flow into one another, so that our fingers are tempted to aid the eye in following the delicate and exquisite modulations. The "Madonna of the Rocks" in the National Gallery is generally regarded as a copy of this picture by Leonardo's assistant, Ambrogio da Predis.

In the last years of the fifteenth century, Leonardo was commissioned to paint the "Last Supper" in the Refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan (Pl. 23B), where he was working at that time for the Sforza family. It was the logical subject for the decoration of the Refectory and there are numerous earlier examples. In the fifteenth century the scene was treated in a matter-of-fact way, following closely on prescribed lines, and Judas was separated by the width of the table from the other figures. Ghirlandajo's rendering is one of the most beautiful. The decorative possibilities were quite frankly accepted by him as the chief attraction, and he elaborated the background and the charming

(*A*) Leonardo. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Cartoon. Diploma Gal., Burlington House, London. (Alinari)

(*B*) Leonardo. Last Supper. Refectory, S. M. delle Grazie, Milan. (Alinari)

(*A*) Leonardo. Mona Lisa. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*B*) Leonardo. Adoration. Uffizi, Florence. (Alinari)

view of the garden seen from the arcades, reducing the figures to a continuous ornamental band made up of the triangular shapes they filled separated at elbow length. Castagno has attempted a more serious interpretation but failed from lack of significance in the individual figures (Pl. 13A).

Difficulties both of composition and conception confronted the painter in this subject. The long row of seated figures was monotonous, and in addition to noble individual types mastery of facial expression was required. Leonardo was the earliest artist who could meet these requirements successfully, and his presentation was so complete and so satisfying that no attempt since made has left any permanent impression. We are not concerned to know whether the incident happened exactly as Leonardo represented it because he has given it a universal quality by which we understand its meaning better than if we had a photograph of the actual scene. We know from his sketches that he made a number of experiments before he decided on the final form. The subject admitted of two interpretations: it might represent either the institution of the sacrament, or the moment when Christ says, "One of you shall betray me." The first was the more limited doctrinal conception; it was the one chosen by Angelico; the second might be treated on broader lines. This was an incident in the life of Christ, but it was also the revelation of the meaning of treachery in the inner circle eating into the heart of any great cause. Naturally Leonardo chose the dramatic moment when the word is spoken and every one in the company, accused by conscience, cries, "Is it I?" This was a problem for a psychologist and a psychologist solved it.

In attempting to give the strongest dramatic effect possible he has used a method of contrast similar to that in the "Adoration." The central figure is passive, it conveys the sense of finality; "irrevocable is his word." The imperturbable figure is like a rock against which the turmoil of the assembled Apostles breaks without avail. Christ appears the embodiment of an immutable law. In the interest of concentration, the length of the table has been reduced and the figures crowded together. Earlier painters hesitated to place Judas with the other Apostles for fear he would not be recognized, but Leonardo grouped all together on the further side of the table; he had no need to perpetuate a tradition which was in itself a confession of inadequacy.

A diagram of the compositional line of the picture shows how slight is the deviation from the symmetrical scheme given by the

perspective of the upper chamber where the supper takes place. The vanishing point coincides with the head of Christ, placed on the axis and silhouetted against the window, through which a view of the open country is seen. It is in the arrangement of the group that the only variation from the symmetrical scheme occurs, and the eager gestures of the figures as they press towards the centre are so varied, so natural and so rich in their rhythmic interplay that we follow the thought interpreted and almost fail to notice the orderly principle of grouping which is in reality one great source of our understanding and enjoyment. No trivial detail is allowed to intrude; whatever is included contributes in some way to the concentration, which is absolute. All the technical aids which Leonardo knew were used to reinforce his creative idea.

The condition of the fresco makes it difficult to examine the heads in detail, but fortunately a series of drawings exists in Windsor in which the power and beauty of these accomplished portraits can be studied. Aside from the masterly character study, each one is an example of supreme beauty; up to this time no one had ever reached such perfection; few have touched such a level since. Leonardo has given the interpretation of this scene which the world agrees in considering final.

Another of Leonardo's pictures has a similar finality, although not quite so great an importance. In order to understand what the "Mona Lisa" (Pl. 24A) really means, it should be studied as it occurs in the chronology of portrait painting: it is original not because it is novel but because it is supreme. Portraiture had begun as an almost merciless rendering of every idiosyncrasy, a study through the scientist's enlarging lens so that no detail should escape attention. In the "Mona Lisa" the search has been no less penetrating than before, but it has passed from surface aspects to the depths of personality. The subtle smile, the elusive expression that plays over the face, do not for a moment hide the analysis of character which Leonardo of all painters was most capable of giving. If it is true that he had music playing while he painted, one wonders whether it was planned so much for the benefit of the sitter as to enable the artist to take advantage of the strange power of music to draw aside the veil of reserve. The expression is baffling and enigmatic.

The forms of the background and what remains of the colour strengthen its mysterious beauty—all contribute to the perfection of the woman's figure conveyed by a subtlety of gradations impossible for any reproduction to record. In the presence of the

original, we seem to be looking at a new thing more living and real than can be imagined from the photograph. Here we learn something of Leonardo's standard, which one is led to compare with that of the Greeks; an ultimate perfection which is classic in essence was his ideal.

All along the line Leonardo's work is a flowering of earlier efforts. In his scientific studies he discusses the casting of shades, aerial perspective, and atmosphere. His employment of chiaroscuro shows an advance over earlier painters. Horne says that in the painting of Leonardo the various objects in the picture are for the first time considered in relation to their place in a given scheme of chiaroscuro. Piero della Francesca only, among the earlier men, made a similar attempt.

As early as 1473, Leonardo made a drawing of landscape which showed his power of bringing the separate parts into a unified scheme. He was "the inventor of modern landscape," Corot said, and the red chalk drawing of a cloud-burst gives a vision which spans the centuries. Only in our own age by dint of long toil has the western world reached anything comparable in beauty, power, and suggestiveness. "In this example Leonardo surpasses both Hokusai and Turner" (Thiis).

His treatise on anatomy is illustrated with studies of the details of structure and with the analysis of proportions—the records of a scientist; but his finished works show not only the results of such study but the effort to reach the harmony of a clearly conceived ideal form, the synthesis of what has gone before. In the figures of his women, the firm curves convey the suggestion of mature perfection. His Madonna of 1481 is one of the first beautiful figures in Italian painting. The splendid women in the Diploma cartoon again illustrate the new ideal. He presents types of the High Renaissance, and in their presence we are conscious of the poise which belongs to those who understand themselves. Like the Parthenon gods they seem "unconditioned in circumstance and environment, and represent the equilibrium and poise of life which is disturbed when the mind and vital forces are called to action, but towards which they tend again as the sea to calm" (Pl. 23A).

Taking the dramatic element which in the earlier work was vivid but primitive and elemental, Leonardo made it more profoundly interpretative, and the bodies he shows us find only half their interest in beauty; it is the play of the mind of which we are always conscious, even if its meaning is sometimes obscure. With his figures, every change of attitude or axis is expressive of personality

or of inner emotion. Thus the figures in the "Last Supper" are all self-interpretative; the action of each is consistent and harmonious in itself as well as in relation to its group. Leonardo was charmed by the graces of woman and he often gave something of her delicacy to his male heads, as in Christ and St. Philip. But his analysis of human form and expression also carried him far afield, as we may see in the studies of grotesque and monstrous heads, of which he left numerous examples.

Leonardo's people are impenetrable. Their conscious and their unconscious beings seem at variance. We are not sure how to regard them. The character of the "Mona Lisa" is endlessly discussed. The painter leaves us in doubt and adds mystery to the other qualities by which he has captivated the world. By his power over elusive expression Leonardo brought the study of personality to its final point. His contemporaries borrowed one or another loveliness—as we may see in Raphael, del Sarto, and Bartolommeo—but no one of them gave so comprehensive a revelation of personality. The Milanese school "smiled after Leonardo," but the smile was a frozen surface on a shallow pool; with Leonardo it was like a surface ripple which left unfathomed the deeper currents of the personal life.

CHAPTER XII

RAPHAEL

A year after Leonardo died "in the arms of Francis I.," as tradition said, Raphael (1483–1520) fell a victim to the plague in Rome. In order to preserve our perspective we must turn to the work of this Umbrian painter before considering the remaining artists of the Florentine school.

Raphael was born in Urbino. The early training he received there was later supplemented by the teaching of Perugino. Four years in Florence broadened his outlook and prepared him for the authoritative position he assumed in Rome. Gracious and winning, generous and teachable, Raphael was always greatly beloved. He had the quality so highly prized by the Italians, that of charming at first sight. His life flowed along with a happy tranquillity as if he had no inhibitions or antagonisms to hold him back. One difficulty after another was surmounted as he increased in power until, when he died in his thirty-seventh year, he had achieved a place of the highest distinction.

Raphael was brought up under peculiarly fortunate conditions. His father was among the artists employed by Federigo Montefeltro, and although the boy was only ten when his father died, this connection with the ruling family brought him many advantages.

The picture which is believed to be one of Raphael's earliest works, the "Vision of a Knight," is a tiny panel seven inches square, which looks like a painting on porcelain. The vision is exactly what might be expected from an impressionable youth brought up in such cultivated surroundings. The knight sleeps and dreams. Life offers him pleasure and ease on the one hand; on the other, the book and the sword, the living tradition of the court. The background is inspired by the hilly country seen from the heights of the town. The figures are gentle and yielding, prettily drawn, but not yet either vigorous or correct. The picture is the outcome of the teaching received from local painters, from his father, Giovanni Santi, and from Timoteo Viti.

In 1499 at the age of sixteen, Raphael left Urbino to attach

himself to Pietro Perugino, then at the height of his popularity and engaged upon the decoration of the Cambio in Perugia. Raphael was thus brought immediately to the consideration of the problems of mural decoration, which accentuates the quality essential in all composition—that of the harmonious relation of the parts to the whole and the sacrifices which may be necessary to achieve that end. He learned the lesson so well that harmony became his leading characteristic as a painter. An example of this period is the "Marriage of the Virgin," in the Brera, which might at first sight be mistaken for a work by Perugino, except for an indescribable freshness and naïveté, a loveliness that belongs to youth. Four years was long enough for what Umbria had to give him and in the fall of 1504 Raphael went to Florence.

After his experience in provincial schools, this contact with the art life of Florence must have been intoxicating. At this time, Raphael's biography might almost be written from his paintings. He saw everything by earlier artists that adorned the city. He hastened with the crowds to view Michelangelo's "David" just put in place; he gazed at Leonardo's cartoon. The things that permanently impressed him we find recorded in his paintings with the most unaffected directness.

It was natural that the perfection of Leonardo's work should appeal especially to him. Raphael's whole training would lead to the appreciation of the finished beauty of the older master's style. With Michelangelo, it was a different matter. In character, experiences, and interests as artists the two men were antipathetic and yet no one in Florence in those days could escape Michelangelo's powerful influence. Raphael, as his "Entombment" shows, paid his homage like the rest to the naturalistic tendencies in Florentine art. The picture was extolled by Vasari, but to us, even when we acknowledge its importance as a human expression, it is interesting chiefly as evidence of his method of assimilation, not always, certainly not here, productive of an artistic result.

While these and many other pictures show the strength of the new impressions Raphael was absorbing, other examples remain to delight us with a more individual quality. One of the most perfect is the "Granduca Madonna," a picture in which his youthful style reaches perfection (Pl. 25A). The type is Umbrian, the spirit still youthful, but the draughtsmanship has strengthened, and he shows here, perhaps for the first time, his mastery of composition. The arrangement seems so inevitable

that, like a delicate and simple melody, one might believe it unstudied. But this is true only in that judgment has been trained to function intuitively.

It was a period of Madonna pictures, of which several new types appeared from Raphael's brush. In 1505, he contracted to paint two pictures of the enthroned Virgin for Perugian patrons. One, the "Colonna Madonna," we are fortunate in having in the Metropolitan Museum; the other is the "Ansidei Madonna" of the National Gallery, In this example, the Umbrian type of enthroned Madonna reaches its loveliest expression. All that has been said of Umbrian painting—its weaknesses as well as its excellences—may be verified here, though all has become sensitive and refined to the point of highest delicacy (Pl. 25B).

Other pictures show variations of Leonardo's "Madonna of the Rocks." In harmony with Umbrian practice, Raphael increased the size of the figures for the field and arranged the Mother and Children in a pyramidal group entirely naturalistic in pose. A new type of composition resulted, since this one unit must comprise within its own contour a sufficiently rich scheme to hold the interest. This required a full utilization of the possibilities inherent in the body itself, resulting from the interplay of axes. It is the scheme of a sophisticated period. There is little devotional content, as the names imply—the "Belle Jardinière," the "Madonna of the Meadow," the "Madonna with the Goldfinch" (Pl. 25C).

Raphael was twenty-five when he was called to Rome. His name was perhaps suggested to the pope by his fellow citizen Bramante, then preparing plans for the new Saint Peter's. He came into the midst of a company of artists employed by Julius II. to hurry to completion the extensive alterations he had undertaken in the Vatican apartments.

Raphael possessed to a remarkable degree the faculty of adaptation. He was singularly free from conceit and teachable as few have been. He drew inspiration from every available source yet always retained his independence. The youth who had profited so greatly by four years of association with Florentine masters found in Rome, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle point out, two new sources of inspiration: the masterpieces of classic sculpture, at that time an absorbing interest, and the mosaic decorations of the Early Christian churches. The latter must have been of particular value as he entered upon work so different in character from anything he had attempted previously. Raphael was

now undertaking the decoration of large wall spaces for the first time.

Unwilling to occupy the apartments of the hated Borgia pope, Julius II. was having prepared for his use the suite of rooms now known as the Stanze. The ceiling of the Sala della Segnatura had been decorated by Sodoma, but the pope seems to have been unsatisfied and Raphael began his labours by an alteration of the design. The general division of the space Raphael retained. In four medallions against a ground simulating gold mosaic, he placed allegorical figures of Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Justice, which were to receive their illustrative interpretation in the frescos of the side walls. "In Poetry," Blashfield says, "Raphael prescribed the composition for a medallion for all time." Following the completion of the ceiling, full responsibility was given to him for the decoration of the Stanze.

His first picture was the "Disputa" of the Sala della Segnatura (Pl. 26A). The work of the assimilator and of the creator is illustrated here. If we were to study the picture under the first category we should have to turn for "sources" to Perugino and Bartolommeo, to Leonardo and to the apse of Santa Pudenziana. Raphael's problem was to unite in one composition groups on the earth and in the heavens and he was not content to superimpose one row of figures above the other as Perugino had done in the Cambio. He secured an organic unity by a scheme of related lines, segments of a great sphere which appears to extend the wall into a shallow apse. Let us not forget in looking at the reproduction that the wall is flat. The limits are well defined and no difficulties of complicated perspective confuse the eye. A subtle reverse curve in the contours of the central mass is employed to relate them as closely as possible, and the chasm between Earth and Heaven is spanned by the structural lines of a pyramid, the lower corners of which are marked by prominent standing figures, the apex by the Eternal Father.

A study of the preparatory drawings illustrates the clearness of Raphael's general conception and the process of refinement which followed as he developed the scheme. It is interesting to observe the unity of the design and to realize the power of the central motives to hold the attention and then to observe that, as a result of the segmental line of the composition, the principal groups are of much smaller dimensions than the accessory figures. In fact, the importance of the actors increases in inverse ratio to their size. Thus the power to control the eye by

(*A*) Raphael. The Granduca Madonna. Pitti, Florence (Anderson)

(*B*) Raphael. The Ansidei Madonna. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*C*) Raphael. La Belle Jardinière. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*D*) Raphael. Baldassare Castiglione. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*A*) Raphael. The Disputa. Stanza, Vatican, Rome. (Anderson)

(*B*) Raphael. The Mass of Bolsena. Stanza, Vatican, Rome. (Anderson)

compositional line, by the "anatomy of his pattern," is tested as never before.

The broad, unoccupied foreground leads to three low steps by which the altar is approached. The vertical axis is marked by the persons of the Trinity above and by the monstrance on the altar symbolizing the presence of Christ on earth. In some of the sketches a sense of haste is evident which is quieted in the painting to express concentration and steadied faith.

The suction acting on the group of worshippers is prevented from becoming too apparent by the strong verticals of two important figures, Sixtus IV. (uncle of Julius II.) on the right, and a powerful figure with back turned on the left. These stand as pillars of the inner sanctuary, the corner groups being on a lower level. On the right, the door from the adjoining room encroaches upon the wall space. This is incorporated as a feature of the design and a foreshortened figure resting on the moulding bends forward into the room in order to see what is pointed out by his companion. The horizontal line is continued at the opposite corner by an open parapet and the two figures conversing here reverse the action of the other side, producing a rich complement of lines.

Admiration for Raphael's achievement as a decorator increases rather than diminishes when we study isolated parts. The radiance and majesty that Raphael later imparted to his sacred figures is often lacking, although the cherubs, bearing the Four Gospels, suggest scions of a divine lineage and the angels of the upper sphere have something of the beauty given them by Dante. The enthroned Apostles are not remarkable figures. It is by their welding together and by the way in which the great hemisphere of the upper air surrounds and sustains them that the majestic effect is produced. An element of variety and beauty results in the original from the lighting and the consequent play of colour. The left side is in shadow, parts only being picked out by a direct light. The right is illuminated, with shadows at intervals giving a deeper note of colour.

No painter so nearly achieves an apocalyptic vision, yet the effect is secured entirely by esthetic means, by majestic compositional line, by rich subordinate rhythms, by beautifully modulated colour, and by "ineffable Umbrian horizons." Its exultant climax is like that of Gounod's "Sanctus."

A more assured draughtsmanship is shown in the "School of Athens." The general line scheme is more complex and the com-

position contains a number of groups subordinate to the central subject but intent upon an interest of their own. The lofty arches of the background echo the boundary of the lunette and framed in the triple repetition stand the central figures of Plato and Aristotle. The connection with the foreground group is made at right and left by figures or gestures less exactly balanced than those in the Disputa. The excitement and intensity characterizing the eager knots of men and boys in the foreground, gradually die away as the eye is led to the figures of the great speculative philosophers.

We cannot speak of Raphael as an interior decorator without mentioning at least one of the frescos in the adjoining room, the Sala d'Eliodoro. The general theme in this room is the deliverance of the Church from enemies within and without. The "Mass of Bolsena" (Pl. 26B) typifies deliverance from heresy, and when we remember that Raphael and Luther were born in the same year, the pertinence of the subject is apparent. Raphael has enlarged the scale of his figures here so that the number of persons is greatly decreased. The scene takes place upon an elevated stage in the foreground approached at each side by flights of steps and enclosed by a parapet or railing seen above the eye so that beyond its curve are revealed arches against the sky. None of the forms exactly duplicates those of a church, but the scene is easily imagined as taking place within the choir, the parapet being substituted for the rood-screen, and the nave stretching beyond.

Motionless, the doubting priest holds up the bleeding wafer. Opposite kneels Julius II., an embodiment of the Faith of the Church. Astonishment is shown only in the movement of accessory figures—the acolytes and, below at the left, the woman who rises to acclaim the miracle. The excitement among the cardinals behind Julius becomes in the Swiss Guards a merely nominal interest.

The fresco occupies a wall unsymmetrically divided by the window. So adroitly has Raphael managed this difficulty and counteracted the irregularities by his massing that the actual shape is less apparent than the one he has chosen to show us. The portraits in this instance are superb. The draughtsmanship is vigorous and masculine and the powerful effect is enhanced by the deeper colour scheme. Only the figures at the left seem to have been handed over to an assistant unable to sustain the grandeur of the master's style. This is an example in which Raphael is able to stand beside the Venetians as a colourist, Blashfield says.

Compared with the preceding room, however, Sala d'Eliodoro lacks simplicity. It suggests the stress and strain of the final years, when the pressure of work was so great that an increasing amount of the actual execution was left to the hands of assistants. The scheme of colour is less unified. To return to the Sala della Segnatura is like turning to fourth century sculpture after the Hellenistic period. The forms are simple, the proportions perfectly related, and the colours reserved and harmonious. It is logical that Raphael, of all painters, should have left this record of the Renaissance vision of man's capacity.

During the years in which Raphael was directing the decoration of the Stanze he was engaged on countless other commissions, and after the accession of Leo X. there were added to his duties as a painter those of an archaeologist and architect.

The portraits of this period show the breadth of the painter's understanding of the world as well as his technical ability. Among the great interpretations are his portraits of Julius II. and Leo X. The latter is also an interesting example of the arrangement of a *group*. But one of Raphael's greatest achievements as a painter is the likeness of his friend, the great courtier and interpreter of the Italian Renaissance, Baldassare Castiglione (Pl. 25D). The distinguished gentleman lives again: the portrait is admirable, but the picture is superlative. The tone is golden ochre permeated with grey, indescribably beautiful, reserved, and subtle. The values resolve themselves into simple relations in a closely modulated middle tone. The scheme of greys and taupes is very modern, and it is rather with nineteenth century painting than with Raphael's contemporaries that one compares this picture.

Altar-pieces of this period show a similar expansion of power. Nothing has been lost but all has been enriched. The "Sistine Madonna" has the simplicity and clarity of his earlier work but the style has acquired radiance and freedom. The movement of the great contours suggests the free winds of heaven. A similar resilience appears in other works. He seems to be making use of a "second wind" quite without effort and as the natural inheritance of his maturity.

It was in the midst of these manifold activities and at the height of his creative power that Raphael was stricken with the plague in his thirty-seventh year. His capacity of assimilation and of growth, his prodigious creative vitality, and the radiance of his final conceptions remain stamped on the memory. To him might be applied Whistler's description of the artist, "through

whose brain, as through the last alembic, is distilled the refined essence of that thought which began with the gods and which they left to him to carry out."

Raphael's influence has been transmitted not by means of his pupils but through contact with his masterpieces. His immediate assistants and followers were painters of little invention or delicacy. Giulio Romano (1492–1546) completed the Stanze after Raphael's death, availing himself of the master's preparatory studies. Later, when with a corps of assistants he executed extensive decorations in Mantua, elevation of style and classic reserve are entirely lost. But if Raphael's immediate followers were mediocre, the perfection of his masterpieces in Rome has brought disciples through all the ages who from this source repeatedly have renewed their sense of beauty.

(*A*) Michelangelo. The Creation of Adam. Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. (Alinari)

(*B*) Michelangelo. Section of ceiling, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. (Alinari)

(*A*) Michelangelo. Prophet Daniel. Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. (Anderson)

(*B*) Michelangelo. Athlete. Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. (Alinari)

(*C*) Bartolommeo. Virgin and Child with Saints. Uffizi, Florence. (Anderson)

(*D*) Andrea del Sarto. Holy Family. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

CHAPTER XIII

MICHELANGELO AND LATER FLORENTINE PAINTERS

Michelangelo (1475–1564), like other great Florentines, was sculptor, painter, and architect. He created the "Pietà," decorated the Sistine ceiling, and designed the dome of St. Peter's, each a supreme work in its class. On the technical side, he was a typical Florentine. He could find no emotional vehicle equal to the human figure and his profound knowledge of anatomy enabled him to give adequate expression to ideal conceptions. At the same time, the temptation was strong to display his mastery in technical tours de force and his work was not entirely free from this fault. It was the heritage that he handed on to the Baroque period.

His life was embittered not only by personal misfortunes but by the calamities of Florence, to which he felt so deep a loyalty. A sombre and at times a violent mood made him difficult and unapproachable. A student of the Bible and of Dante, he was also deeply influenced by Savonarola, but "he was a lifelong alien on the earth and voyaged the sea of thought alone," as Symonds says. His conceptions have the grandeur that results from independent and fearless thinking.

As a boy he was so precocious that when, at the age of thirteen, he entered the bottega of Ghirlandajo, the customary procedure was reversed and the master paid for his services instead of receiving recompense for his instruction. Ghirlandajo was an accomplished technician and the three years which Michelangelo spent with him resulted in a knowledge of the technique of fresco painting which later proved invaluable. His work shows no other evidence of this connection. The sources of his style are to be sought in the earlier sculptors, primarily in Jacopo della Quercia and in Donatello, and although he was trained both as painter and sculptor, marble seems in a special sense his medium. He struck fearlessly into the block with an assurance as to the result which he expressed in one of his sonnets:

> The best of artists has no thought to show
> Which the rough stone in its superfluous shell
> Doth not include: to break the marble spell
> Is all the hand that serves the brain can do.

As a student in the Gardens of San Marco, his early experiments in sculpture attracted the attention of Lorenzo de' Medici and led to his residence in the Medici household for several years, during which he associated with the best intellects of Florence.

There is nothing tentative about Michelangelo's early work. Among his rare panel paintings, the tondo of the "Holy Family" in the Uffizi illustrates the problems of draughtsmanship which occupied him all his life. The picture bears a superficial resemblance to the tondo by Signorelli in the same gallery. The earlier work is tentative, but Michelangelo, without religious scruples, treats the figures as so many elements in his plastic arabesque. The composition is a rhythm of related planes. The Virgin is seated on the ground, the torso turned at a sharp angle to the left, and the arms stretched upward to receive the Child from Joseph's knee. The interest of the picture is almost wholly technical.

The following year, when he was preparing his cartoon for the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio, the war with Pisa furnished him with the incident of bathing soldiers called to arms. It was an opportunity for the study of complicated movement. The animated figures turn to point out the enemy as they struggle up the bank or pull on their garments in frenzied haste. Like the work of Leonardo designed at the same time, the cartoon was destroyed and the decoration never executed.

During these same years, Michelangelo received commissions as a sculptor. He executed the "Pietà," now in St. Peter's, in which he "challenges comparison with the achievements of antiquity"; he proved his ability as a naturalist in the "David" and in 1505 he was summoned to Rome to execute a colossal tomb for Julius II. He had been engaged on this work for three years when the pope, losing interest in the scheme for some reason, suddenly changed his mind. As nephew of Sixtus IV., Julius II. naturally desired still further to enrich the Sistine Chapel built by the della Rovere family. Its earlier decoration has already been described. In 1508 the pope turned with determination to the project of adding a decorated ceiling to the Chapel and summoned Michelangelo to carry out the scheme.

The artist was absorbed in his work on the tomb and had no other interest or thought than its completion. To be obliged to turn from the profession in which he excelled and to leave unfinished a piece of work which had fired his deepest enthusiasm roused him to a passionate protest. But his rebellion had no effect; the pope was obdurate and Michelangelo was obliged to submit.

The creative vitality of the artist is revealed as we watch him gradually warming to the new task and finally bringing to it the full force of his intellect. In a letter which he wrote at the time he undertook the work, he says, "According to the first project, I was to make the Twelve Apostles in the lunettes, and fill the rest with the usual ornaments." His plan would thus have depended upon the earlier tradition of ceiling decoration shorn of its light motives and with the substitution of heroic types for figures of almost Pompeiian grace. "But," he adds, "when I began, it seemed to me that this would never be more than a very poor thing. . . . Then [the pope] gave a new order; I should do what I pleased; and he would pay me accordingly." When he altered his plan, all the inherited traditions of ceiling design were thrown to the winds (Pl. 27B).

The Sistine vault presented an unbroken curved area of about ten thousand square feet, "above each window a round arched flat surface cut into the vaulting for some distance" (Blashfield). The first essential was to subdivide this great area. Michelangelo, the architect, created with his brush an elaborate structural scheme. Let us examine this scheme, for it was by this means that he gave unity to the design. He divided the field into three parts by a painted cornice running just above the lunettes and supported by projecting (painted) piers which frame rectangular niches. A separate point of sight corresponds with the centre of each niche, the two piers showing an equal recessed surface at each side. Here figures alternately male and female are enthroned. Below, in the narrowing curved space, stand putti who carry scrolls inscribed with the names of the prophets and sibyls above them. The piers which mark off the niches are surmounted by reversed caryatid designs of putti. Above the cornice, square pedestals support the figures of naked youths (athletes) arranged in groups of four, facing inward. The simulated divisions continue behind the athletes and form a series of casements. This arrangement results in the alternation of large and small apertures through the central space and the strength of the framework makes it possible, without the appearance of instability, to fill the openings with figures in bold movement and foreshortening. This structural scheme having been adopted, the painter could work with a free hand knowing that the organic coherence of his design was assured.

The first impression of the ceiling is of a rich and varied design. This must strike us as astonishing when we realize that the composition depends on the almost exclusive use of the human figure.

There are no ornamental motives, and landscape forms are sparingly employed. The designer was perfectly aware of the danger of monotony and we may see by what careful planning he sought to avoid it. As he worked out his scheme on paper, he determined upon a given proportion between the parts of the design. The sibyls and prophets were the largest in scale, the athletes and spandriel figures next (the cherubs in the niches their little brothers), the caryatids were next in size, then the figures in the historical subjects, and finally the reliefs on the medallions assumed very nearly the scale of ornament. This scheme may be studied at the west end of the ceiling where the rhythmic proportion is well illustrated, but this relation of sizes was not preserved throughout the area. Fine as the plan was in theory the units were not large enough to be effective as seen from below, and the fact that a sudden change of size takes place at about the centre of the ceiling has led critics to believe that Michelangelo altered his proportion on discovering its ineffectiveness from the floor. We cannot be certain whether this is the case, but the sudden increase in the size of the figures is evident, from the "Creation of Adam" on. It is seen in the historical panels, the athletes, the prophets, and even the bound caryatids. The whole culminates in the colossal "Jonah" above the "Last Judgment." Studied in reproduction the greater harmony of the first plan is unquestionable; in the Chapel, the necessity for its alteration is equally evident.

When we turn from these general aspects of the design to the consideration of individual figures and groups, an equal care for artistic effects is evident, combined with profound creative thought. The prophets and sibyls which have usurped the place of the Twelve Apostles are seated on thrones set in the shadowed niches. They are figures of colossal size (eighteen feet in height if they stood) and are attended by wingless children. In these figures Michelangelo has changed the fashion and the ideals of an age; he has made an epoch in art. They are not without artistic antecedents, but the advance in knowledge and in beauty has so transformed them that there is little purpose in bringing together the various elements in the work of Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, and Donatello which contributed this or that feature. As contrasted with preceding figure designs the complexity of attitude indicates the thought of the sculptor composing "in the round."

Michelangelo said that a piece of sculpture should be so com-

posed that it would suffer no injury in being rolled down hill. An equal solidity is shown in these figures. Isaiah is swung in a sudden pivotal movement as he turns, aroused from reverie by the voice of inspiration. Child angels speak to him, "as if frail humanity could understand angelic messages from infant lips only." The compact design is embraced in an oval contour.

Daniel is a figure of transcendent beauty. Under the compulsion of the Spirit, he writes "with indescribable eagerness of attention." The book from which he copies "is supported by a boy who stands before the Prophet, and the beauty of that child is such that no pencil, by whatever hand it may be borne, will ever equal it" (Vasari) (Pl. 28A).

Here the artist has created full depth, extending his forms or thrusting them back in the richest arabesque of three-dimensional design. Daniel's body is turned abruptly to the left as he bends over his tablet. The foreshortened arm has the reality of an image seen in the stereopticon. The figure bears downward with tremendous weight. To attempt to lift it would be like uprooting an oak.

With Michelangelo, all movement is momentous and the weight of the parts is accentuated by foreshortening and drapery. "He seems to have first discovered the third dimension and foreshortening."

The figures of the sibyls show an almost equal ponderousness. They, too, are full of titanic energy. The heavy body of the Persian sibyl contrasts with the aged profile peering into the book of wisdom. The design of the Delphic sibyl recalls the sculptured tondo of the Madonna. The head is seen full face with a severe vertical axis and about this stabilized form revolve the balancing movement of the arms and the swinging curves of the contours. As in all Michelangelo heads, the beauty is of a purely impersonal type, depending on the fine form and proportion of the features. These figures have no individual life: they are types through whom speak universal voices. They are pervious to the spirit of the age.

The prophets and sibyls are all heavily draped in undergarments and voluminous cloaks, and emerge into light from shadowed niches. In strong contrast are the athletes grouped about the smaller central panels. These are nude figures standing in close relation to the severe architectural framework. Their contours are relieved against draperies but not concealed by them. Although painted in the colour of flesh, these figures furnish the

sculptural element in the design. "They are in succession pensive or gay, calm or agitated, ardent or inert, glowing, passionate, fervent, or frigid, lethargic and impassive" (Wilson). They have little significance in the intellectual scheme and complexities of pose are here permitted to become the principal interest. Michelangelo's superior conception of beauty endows them with superhuman attributes (Pl. 28B).

The subjects treated in the central area depict the acts of Creation, followed by the Fall of Man, the Flood, or repurification of the world, and finally the second entry of sin, into the family of Noah, which necessitates the coming of a Redeemer. The scenes were executed in reverse order to the sequence of the incidents, and great disparity of scale will be found in comparing the first and the last frescos.

In the first scene, the Almighty separates light from darkness by the outspreading of his arms, for He is Light. The second is a composition of surpassing force and majesty, God, the Creator, commanding the sun to rule by day and the moon to rule by night. The compactness of the shape, the swirl of the draperies, the energized soles of the feet convey the idea of a power that is joy as the Almighty speeds to new acts of creation. Astonishment at the technical tour de force of preserving balance by two opposing movements of such velocity is forgotten before the imaginative conception. Modern science has given us no symbol of unspent energy to equal this onrush of Jehovah as Creator. "In these works Michelangelo designed a figure of the Creator that has remained ever since the only possible symbol of God the Father" (Holroyd). Before Michelangelo, only the seers of the Old Testament saw such a vision; after him no one has been able to picture that vision (Pl. 27B).

In the next fresco, the Spirit of the Lord broods upon the face of the waters, calling a response of life from their far depths. In the fourth area he creates Man (Pl. 27A). Perfect, beautiful, formed in the likeness of God, the first Adam awaits the touch of the Spirit, the earnest of his second birth. Dead matter is to become the conductor of the divine current through the contact of the finger tips. The focus of the composition is that contact point, but the eye, like the current, sweeps in endless circuit through the space. It is this inner force of thought which binds together forms sharply dissevered. The figure of Adam is perhaps the highest single achievement of Renaissance draughtsmanship. It is natural that it should be compared with the Theseus

of the Parthenon pediment. Each expresses the heroic ideal of its age. From the piecing of the intonaco we learn that Michelangelo executed this figure in three days. "Such power of work and of finish is utterly inconceivable in any artist of to-day" (Holroyd).

The creation of Eve is followed by the Fall and the Expulsion, treated in one area divided by the vertical tree mass. The unity of the picture is preserved by the great arc line over which the eye passes, comprehending the parts simultaneously. The formal excellence of the composition is greater than is the interpretative content, as may be seen by comparing this Expulsion with that by Masaccio which was so obviously its inspiration. Every advantage of knowledge is on the side of the later painter, but the earlier artist has in this instance reached a far higher conception.

The terror of elemental forces is conveyed in the Flood and individual groups are magnificent in design—but this and the following scenes are not altogether successful as a part of the decorative scheme.

Around the windows and in the triangular spaces of the ceiling above are represented the genealogies of Christ and the Virgin. These are informal groups. They have been called sketches where the artist recorded impressions of the life about him as he went back and forth from his work. The immense activity and strain of the central motives dip away here into quiet.

The structure of the design and the variety of the figures in pose and treatment can be studied point by point in any good reproduction, but the unity dependent upon the massing of values and the colour are not illustrated in photographic reproduction, which makes all the lines and contrasts harsh. Photographs of the whole ceiling are so small in scale that nothing can be seen satisfactorily and if photographs of details are studied, the effect of the big value masses which create *planes* is altogether lost. To realize these qualities we must stand beneath the vault itself. But although these points cannot be illustrated here, their consideration is too important to omit.

The altar end of the Chapel is considered as the source of light for the paintings on the walls and for the ceiling, with the exception of the central series, which is treated independently as if lighted from the left. Thus two general planes are easily distinguished in the ceiling decoration. The corner areas and the window triangles are dark and dusky, throwing the area of the ceiling into a unit of somewhat lighter general key.

Perhaps the colour is best suggested by thinking of some grey stone monument on which the polychrome is soft and sombre, but clear and pure as well. But in this instance we may quote the description of colour in the words of a great critic, Kenyon Cox: "The whole central portion of the ceiling (with its stories of the Creation and Fall of Man) is based upon a chord of gold and violet. The lights which are mainly the illuminated masses of the flesh, are of a thousand tints of greyish yellow or pale orange: the darks, which are made by the draperies, are reddish violet, the grey-blue of sky forms the half tone. Occasionally there is a blue drapery but the lights of it are pale yellow, the local colour subsisting only in the shadows. As you descend from this central portion to the pendentives and the lunettes, the colour grows richer and fuller; you have deep blues and greens and rich reds, but always there is the golden light modifying the local tones, the full coloured shadow looking violaceous by reason of the contrast. The effect of the whole is so rich, so harmonious, so right in the relations of its parts and in the relation of the whole to its surroundings, so perfectly in the air and so lacking in heaviness, that, when I first saw it, I forgot for the time the stupendous design and marvellous draughtsmanship in admiration of its glory of colour and painter-like mastery of tone. Considering the overwhelming difficulty of the task, I know of nothing else in the world comparable to this as a display of the highest powers of the colourist."

"When this work was completed, all the world hastened from every part to behold it, and having beheld it, they remained astonished and speechless" (Vasari). Florentine art culminated with Michelangelo's ceiling, in which the human intellect grasped anew the heroic story of creation. The ideas were not all new nor was the scheme of combining the varied elements tried for the first time, but the result is absolutely original because of the creative genius which was able to invent a pictorial accompaniment worthy of the Hebrew epic.

For a number of years following the completion of the Sistine ceiling, the artist was engaged on important sculptural work. In 1535 he returned to Rome and at the order of Paul III. executed the "Last Judgment" on the altar-wall of the Sistine Chapel. To carry out this project, the windows were filled in and the earlier frescos destroyed.

It is a harsh and terrifying spectacle that he depicts—vindictive and unmerciful, in spite of the beauty of certain motives. The absence of an architectural plan is apparent. Individual groups

rather than a general scheme appear to absorb the artist's attention. The nude is practically unrelieved by drapery and the "gladiatorial forms of the Apostles" lack dignity. Whereas the ceiling was completed in less than four years, this much less extensive work occupied the artist for seven years—an indication that he was no longer the physical giant he had been. This was his last important work as a painter and the final addition to the decoration of the Sistine Chapel, which embodies in one comprehensive perspective the drama of Sin and Redemption: the Creation, the Fall of man necessitating a Redeemer whose coming is foretold by prophet and sibyl, the life of Christ with its great prototype in the Old Testament, the ministry carried forward in the tapestries by Raphael to apostolic days, portraits of the popes and finally the Last Judgment. Artistically and decoratively, however, it is not unified. We have seen that an interval of sixty years did not make a great difference in the style of the Brancacci Chapel. But even in the twenty-five years which intervened between the decoration of the walls and that of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel an irrevocable break had occurred. Michelangelo's work made the older artists appear antiquated. He was like some great athlete at the threat of whose touch the ordinary man cringes. In the "Last Judgment" he took that step, from which there was no turning back, toward the inevitable, the imminent decadence. Is not its shadow already apparent in the grandiose force of his "Day of Doom"?

Wölfflin expresses this thought in saying, "Michelangelo overwhelmed Italian art like a mighty mountain torrent, at once fertilizing and destructive." Born in 1475, he outlived all his contemporaries and stood like an isolated oak, scarred by the storms which he had to face alone. He lived to see the earlier ideal of the figure arts superseded by the splendour of Venetian decoration. Italian painting was nearing its eclipse when he died in 1564.

The pre-eminence of Florence long since had become a thing of the past. Both Michelangelo and Raphael produced their greatest paintings in Rome, while Leonardo as early as 1519 left Italy to accept service with the French king. These facts are significant. Throughout the fifteenth century, Florence, south of the Apennines, was the centre of artistic inspiration, but with the political changes at the close of the century she lost her position of leadership. The death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492 marked the end of an era. Already the ducal courts of North Italy had taken an

important part in formulating educational programs, in the collection of books and manuscripts, and in the patronage of the arts, as has been mentioned in connection with Urbino. But during the early years of the sixteenth century, all eyes must have been focussed on Rome. No doubt the comprehensive plans of Julius II. raised hopes of employment in the minds of artists throughout Italy, and Leo X., a son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, rivalled in Rome the patronage which his family had formerly exercised in Florence.

When we turn back, therefore, to consider the contemporaries of Raphael and Michelangelo left in Florence when these artists transferred their activities to Rome, we shall understand why their work is more or less in the nature of an aftermath.

The two leading painters at this time were Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto. Both were influenced by Piero di Cosimo (1462–1521), "who, though narrow and eccentric, has a strange originality" which is well illustrated in the "Death of Procris" (National Gallery) and in the panels depicting Hunting Scenes in the Metropolitan Museum.

Fra Bartolommeo (1475–1517) was a companion of Piero di Cosimo in the bottega of Cosimo Roselli, and much of his professional work was later done in collaboration with Albertinelli, his fellow student at this time. He came as a young man under the influence of Savonarola and one of his earliest paintings is the forceful portrait of the great preacher now in Savonarola's cell in San Marco. This association led to his profession as a Dominican monk (1501) and to his exclusive treatment of religious subjects. The influence of Perugino was thus a natural one. In 1508 Bartolommeo visited Venice and contact with the brilliant and joyous art of the City of the Lagoons resulted not only in his use of Venetian motives but in an exuberant spirit which increased to the end of his career. Thus he enriched the Umbrian painter's harmonious schemes of composition and varied his religious mood (Pl. 28c).

Nowhere is this brought to a lovelier consummation than in the "Madonna of the Sanctuary" in Lucca. The element of space in the sky background serves to isolate the Virgin enthroned on a low pedestal between two saints and crowned by cherubs lightly poised in air. At her feet a third angel plays his musical instrument, a motive borrowed from Venetian painting.

From this time until his early death Bartolommeo's output was constant, and from year to year he built up more and more

elaborate schemes of composition. His work brought great honour to his convent and he was one of the painters invited to France by Francis I.

It is important to remember that Bartolommeo was born in the same year as Michelangelo and died before Leonardo and that when he created such compositions as the "Marriage of St. Catherine" (Pitti) and the "Virgin of Mercy" (Lucca) imposing groups of this kind were seen for the first time in Florentine art. His altar-pieces carry admirably, his method of creating depth by line, composition, and lighting, is thoroughly effective, and his colour is pleasing. Such pictures look well on an altar and suit the needs of the worshippers. But his effects were easily attained and at times appear empty and bombastic, for his emotionalism is inflated on too small a foundation of intellectuality. These ambitious altar-pieces seem very academic today, we are too conscious of the mechanical means by which he builds them and could almost predict beforehand how he will deal with each difficulty as it arises. His assurance and ease appear superficial. Although we must guard against attributing to Bartolommeo the empty mannerism of the Baroque period it is nevertheless true that these qualities are present in germ in his later altar-pieces.

Andrea del Sarto (1486–1531), was the last important master of the Renaissance group in Florence. He excelled as a fresco painter and was the author of important decorations in which he continued and amplified the narrative style of his predecessors. The death of Lorenzo de' Medici and the execution of Savonarola occurred when Andrea was a youth, and it was a different Florence and a less strenuous day that his art delighted. It is not surprising if his work lacks the integrity of earlier painting and charms largely by superficial effects. This lack of integrity appears in another connection. Andrea was one of the painters who accepted commissions in France at the invitation of Francis I. He spent some time there (c. 1510) and when he returned in answer to the summons of his wife he was entrusted by the king with money for the purchase of works of art. This was never accounted for and Andrea never returned to France.

Andrea's most important decorations, those of the Scalzo and Santa Annunziata, occupied him intermittently during a series of years. Here may be studied the relation of his work to earlier and contemporary types of composition and the enriched effect resulting from his soft and varied harmonies of colour. He delighted in descriptive and genre motives and his style is typically repre-

sented in the imposing "Birth of the Virgin." All that was quaint and whimsical in earlier art has been ruled out of this stately interior through which the figures move as if to the rhythm of a slow andante. In its urban elegance it might serve as an illustration of contemporary life as it is described in the letters of Isabella d'Este. The female figures have the fully matured forms of the sixteenth century and the artist's command of drawing enables him to employ a rich variety of pose. The women in the foreground "show the aristocratic nonchalance and indolent self-abandonment" which Wölfflin says "found no more able an interpreter."

One of Andrea's most gracious and buoyant altar-pieces is the "Annunciation" of the Pitti. Especially fine are the poise of the angel's head and the perfect expressiveness of the gesture of salutation. Following this movement the eye is carried by the distant arch to the statuesque figure of the Virgin whose position sends it back to the angel once more to follow the rich sequence of curves. The freshness and expressiveness of Andrea's earlier pictures gradually were lost as his work became stereotyped. As in later periods of art a rhetorical pose often is substituted for the genuine expression of an idea, and the designation of the "perfect painter" which has been applied to him suggests the superficial charm which his work exerts. It lacks the deeper significance of the greatest masters, such as Masaccio or Leonardo (Pl. 28D).

One of Andrea's late pictures, the "Madonna of the Sack," although without significance of interpretation, offers a novel solution of a balanced composition. Instead of filling the semicircular lunette with symmetrical groups Andrea has disposed in it two equilateral triangles of varying size. One to the right of the centre is filled by the Virgin and Child who sit on a low step in the immediate foreground; the other, filled by the figure of Joseph leaning on a sack, is placed to the left and pushed well into the background. Balance results as in a teeter board from the placing and relative size of the weights or pulls with reference to the centre of equilibrium. The painting is executed in soft pastel shades of great beauty.

Andrea's ability as a draughtsman, the graciousness and ease which he expressed in every movement, and his harmony of tone are seen to their best advantage in his portraits. In that of himself in the National Gallery he interprets the dreamy artistic temperament so fully borne out in everything that he did. Andrea's art was a kind of Indian summer following the Florentine Renaissance. Brown and Rankin, speaking of these painters,

say: "They are influenced and left behind by the giants in whom the High Renaissance culminated, and they paved the way for the mannerists of the final period" (Pl. 28D).

Andrea died just as Florence was entering upon a new phase under the rule of the returned Medici, soon to become Dukes of Tuscany. Cosimo I. sought to carry on the traditions of the Medici family, and as patron of art he atoned for some of his political crimes. But the middle of the sixteenth century was an arid period in art—that of the mannerists. Figure paintings are sterile and academic, but portraits often are charming in spite of their cold formality. Pontormo, Bronzino, and Vasari were the leading artists.

Pontormo (1494–1556) was the pupil and assistant of Andrea del Sarto, and died before the style of the mannerists had been fully established. Bronzino (1502–1572), in the portrait of Eleanor of Toledo, the Spanish wife of Cosimo I., with her bright-eyed son Garcia, shows excellent interpretation, while the studied elegance of the beautiful Lucrezia Panciatichi well typifies the social ideal of the age.

Vasari (1512–1574) was closely associated with Cosimo I. as counsellor, painter, and architect. In the latter capacity he designed a building for government offices which still retained its name when at a later time it was remodelled as an art gallery—the Uffizi.

It was to Cosimo I. that Vasari dedicated the great work by which he is known today, the "Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects," published in 1550. It was an opportune moment in which to gather this material together and the book remains one of the primary sources of study for all later investigators of Italian art. It is therefore a fitting termination of the long line of Florentine masterpieces.

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CHAPTER XIV

NORTH ITALIAN PAINTING

Florentine art showed so little dependence on outside influence that it is possible to study its whole course without knowing what was going on elsewhere. But as we take up the work of other schools, it is important to relate it to contemporary developments in Florence.

In North Italy, Padua and Verona were among the first cities to show important activity in the arts. Here, as elsewhere in the peninsula, the Byzantine tradition was strong and persistent, but perhaps as a result of northern connections (with Germany), there was a more general tendency towards Gothic line and emotion.

The earliest name in the art of Padua is that of Guariento, a painter of the middle of the fourteenth century who combines with the usual Byzantine and Gothic features Florentine influence derived from a study of Giotto's frescos in the Arena Chapel. Guariento executed a large decoration in the Ducal Palace in Venice and exercised considerable local influence.

A more important painter was Altichieri (c. 1330–1395), who practised his art chiefly in Padua, although he was probably born in Verona. With some assistance from Avanzi, he executed frescos which, "apart from the productions of the schools of Florence and Siena, are the most beautiful of fourteenth century works."

The decoration of the Chapel of San Felice in the Church of Sant' Antonio, Padua, in spite of restoration, is an enchanting example of the late fourteenth century at its best. The painter shows familiarity with Giotto's frescos in the Arena Chapel, but his interest is less exclusively dramatic and he delights in all the accessories of the story. The influence of Siena is almost more apparent than that of Florence; it is shown in the colour and in the loveliness and refinement of some of the types as well as in the romantic mood. Architecture is a marked feature of all the scenes. The graceful and ornate forms of the Gothic structures suggest an effort to reproduce the picturesque style

of contemporary Venetian building. Although there is an overemphasis on the architectural setting, it becomes as engrossing an interest to the spectator as it was to the painter.

A picture in which Altichieri's style is admirably illustrated is the votive fresco in Sant' Anastasia, Verona. Knights of the Cavalli family (Pl. 29A) kneel before the enthroned Madonna. The sacred group with the eager Child and intent angels is full of motives reminiscent of Giotto or Simone, but there is no feeling of an eclectic style, for all has been rendered with fresh delight. The knights, with their family crests prominently displayed, are recommended by warrior saints, also in contemporary costume. The Gothic hall is emblazoned with the Cavalli shields and the whole atmosphere, while recalling Simone's "Life of St. Martin," has the secular feeling for which northern art of this period is known. These frescos were executed in the last years of the fourteenth century and far excel contemporary Florentine work in their beauty, dignity, and fantasy.

The Gothic element which is here shown in specific motives and in romantic mood in the early fifteenth century sometimes dominated the draughtsmanship as well, as in the engaging art of Stefano da Zavio.

But the great master of the early fifteenth century in Verona was Pisanello (1385–1455). He combined romantic vision with an astonishing veracity in the rendering of individual motives. In his portrait medallions made late in his career (beginning 1438) he appears a fully developed Renaissance master. His rendering of physiognomy, his incisive modelling, and his beautiful feeling for design entitle him to the rank of the "greatest medalist in Europe" (Brown and Rankin). As a painter he is more tentative and transitional, and exemplified the Gothic tendencies of North Italian painting. He was associated with Gentile da Fabriano in several undertakings, and although he was a younger man and an artist of far greater ability, we think of the two as similar in their technical method and in their fresh, vivacious outlook upon their surroundings. Awakened observation led them to take greater interest in the world of nature and what earlier painters would have thought of in the terms of St. Bernard, they treated in the style of Hans Andersen.

Pisanello led a busy and productive life, receiving commissions which took him to Rome, Florence, and Venice, as well as to the ducal courts of North Italy. His "Vision of Saint Eustace" (Pl. 29B) in the National Gallery is like a square foot cut

(*A*) Altichieri. The Madonna with the Cavalli Family. S. Anastasia, Verona. (Alinari)

(*B*) Pisanello. Vision of St. Eustace. National Gallery, London. (Anderson)

(*C*) Mantegna. Crucifixion. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*A*) Correggio. Madonna enthroned with St. Francis. Dresden. (Alinari)

(*B*) Mantegna. The Baptism of Hermogenes. Church of the Eremitani, Padua. (Anderson)

(*C*) Correggio. Danaë. Borghese Gallery, Rome. (Anderson)

from a mille-fleurs tapestry. The scene is shown in a steep perspective without sky. Here and there is a fleck of bright colour, blue, gold, or crimson, but as a whole the effect depends on the pattern of golden-ochre animals on a ground of bronze and bronze-green. The painter feels none of the trammels of naturalism; bird, beast, tree, and water follow each other with delightful inconsequence. Yet the study of animals is both truthful and decorative, not only their shapes are observed, but their statuesque poses. We are made aware of their keen senses and their timidities. Such study of naturalistic details has progressed far without any corresponding study of naturalistic effects. Pisanello also delighted in courtly ceremony, which he enlivened by his secular feeling, as may be seen in the frescos in Verona showing St. George liberating the Princess. Fry says, "He effected for art the change from the threadbare vestments of an ecclesiastical academician to the modish garments of contemporary chivalry."

Pisanello had some local followers, but Padua become the influential centre during the fifteenth century. The city had a proud historic tradition extending back to the time of Augustus, and in the thirteenth century, when the university was established, it became a famous seat of learning. The intellectual outlook was therefore not unlike that of Florence and the enthusiasm for antiquity rivalled that of the Tuscan city. It is a curious fact that little local interest seems to have been aroused in consequence of Giotto's stay in Padua, as there was practically no general awakening until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the city became famous for its school of art under the direction of Squarcione, a classical enthusiast intent upon overthrowing the medieval tradition and encouraging naturalistic studies. His fame as a teacher was widespread and his school was attended by students from beyond the Alps. Squarcione had brought together a collection of classical marbles for the instruction and information of his pupils, but his method of teaching was limited, and painters who were trained entirely by him never wholly freed themselves from his pedantic style. A strong initiative was necessary to acquire from other sources qualities essential to a balanced development. This was recognized by Mantegna (1431–1506), who was the one great master that the school produced.

The presence of contemporary Florentine artists in Padua, especially of Donatello brought Mantegna into contact with one of the finest creative minds of the Early Renaissance, supplying an element of inspiration lacking in the teaching of Squarcione.

The presence of Jacopo Bellini and his two sons, who were established there for several years, was a further incentive to naturalistic studies. Mantegna was drawn into close connection with this family of great painters, and before 1453 married Jacopo's daughter. Under these influences his style broadened, while the love of antiquity instilled by Squarcione remained a leading characteristic.

Mantegna's classicism had the seriousness of a religious cult. It was a determined effort to reconstruct the ancient world. In this he differed wholly from the Florentine painter, who often used a classical subject as a pretext for technical experiment. Better than his contemporaries, he succeeded in penetrating the mists that obscured the past and in producing works which the Romans themselves might have understood. It was his intention to reproduce accurately the costumes and trappings of the past. His action is staged in columned courts or against triumphal arches. Simeon circumcises the Child in a marble hall that might be a Roman bath. St. Sebastian and St. Christopher are bound against Roman pilasters, on which carved ornament is executed with zealous care for every antique motive of design, and the long "Triumph of Caesar" is overburdened with the trophies borne before him.

For the first time an artist had arisen whose enthusiasm for antiquity was archaeological. Such a standpoint has obvious dangers. A master cannot afford to be so intent upon the problem of reconstruction as to lose touch with his own time. The artist in Mantegna is sometimes lost in the antiquarian.

It is dangerous to study his work exclusively in reproduction even if we know the originals, for their colour fades from our memory and we begin to think of his painting as hard and sharp, his world as stern and unyielding. It is a different effect that colour gives to his pictures. In the Eremitani frescos and the "St. Sebastian" of the Louvre the pale hues suggest Puvis de Chavannes rather than his contemporaries; in the latter picture, it is the extreme delicacy of the tone relations which gives so much beauty that the harsh realism of the head is overlooked and one forgets the martyr's pains. In the Uffizi triptych, the panels sparkle with brilliance, the orange-yellows particularly never fade from the memory. The whole surface is like enamel. In the "Death of the Virgin" the night sky and the subdued colours echo the mood of the mourners. On the other hand, the half-length Madonnas, such as that at Bergamo, seem to be exhaled from the canvas.

They have closely related values and a soft mealy surface, caused by the employment of the Venetian method of painting with water-colour on canvas (Fry).

In the frescos executed in the Eremitani in 1459, Mantegna shows himself the disciple of Donatello and Uccello. His figures appear to be hewn from a solid material and forcibly thrown out by contrasts of light and shade; in some cases sculpturesque effects are deliberately imitated. In the picture showing St. James on the way to martyrdom he experiments with the sculpturesque point of sight. The incident is pictured as if it took place on a high balcony above the spectator's eye. As a result, only the figures in the immediate foreground are seen in full length. His interest in creating an illusion through the use of foreshortening is also illustrated in the "Martyrdom of St. James," where a rod is painted in such a way that it appears to be on the outer surface of the picture plane and the bystander who leans over it projects into the room. These are doubtful experiments because they tend to destroy the convention of pictorial art, as is the case when actors address their remarks to the audience instead of to each other.

Remarkable for so early a date is the composition in the "Baptism of Hermogenes" and in "St. James before the Emperor." The stage is cleared for the action which takes place in the middle distance beyond an *open* space; the subordinate figures occupy positions at each side. It will be seen by comparing the illustrations that this is far in advance of contemporary work. Indeed, Kristeller compares it to the practice of Raphael fifty years later (see "Disputa" [Pl. 32B and Pl. 26A]).

The enthroned "Madonna" of St. Zeno should be studied as an important altar-piece of this period. It shows characteristic composition and figure drawing. The Renaissance architecture of the carved frame appears to constitute the entrance to the hall where the Virgin is enthroned. Identical architectural motives are repeated in the painted background. By this means the artist compels the eye to recognize frame and picture as indivisible.

The predella panel representing the "Crucifixion" (Pl. 29C) is now in the Louvre. In spite of its small dimensions, it is one of Mantegna's greatest works. His science, his intellectual power, and his impersonal interpretation give force to the conception. The crucified figures are raised high above the crowd on the three crosses which cut through the panel with emphatic vertical lines; behind them sweep the opposing diagonals of the groups. Per-

spective and colour values create three planes of depth—the paved court, the distant city, and the pale green hill. Light falls from the upper right. The shadows on the warm brown rocks are deep plum. The picture is alive with colour: vermilions, rose, orange, yellow, blues, and deep bronze-green, all offset by the claret shadows.

Certain compositional motives as well as the proportions of the long slender figures are derived from Jacopo Bellini. The figure of Christ is uncompromisingly drawn, stern and terrible, impersonal and hence doubly impressive. At the left is the rectangular group of women surrounding the old and broken form of his mother, collapsing as a dead weight. St. John, a terminal figure in the immediate foreground, wrings his hands in bitter disappointment and grief. On the other side the armoured warriors cast dice, oblivious of the conscience-stricken centurion gazing upon the Redeemer. This inward-leading figure balances St. John. Behind the central cross the horses and soldiers clank down the paved hill. The background shows the same relentlessness unsoftened by any tree or shrub. Even Signorelli mitigated such scenes by the tenderness of a distant burial or a delicate Umbrian tree against the sky. This picture stands alone in its stern solemnity. The effect is tremendous. Mantegna makes the power of Rome his subject—Rome fulfilling destiny. This is typical not only of the Paduan period of Mantegna's work, but of the man himself and his outlook on the world. In these examples, executed while Botticelli and Ghirlandajo were still boys, we recognize the son of Florentine science.

About 1460 Mantegna left Padua to become court painter for Ludovico Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, a position he retained during more than forty years. He continued to produce altar-pieces and devotional panels, but the most important works of this period are the decoration of the Sala degli Sposi in the castle of Mantua and the "Triumph of Caesar."

The frescos of the Sala degli Sposi (Pl. 30A), executed in 1474, form the most important secular decoration remaining from the fifteenth century. The small room is vaulted and the walls and ceiling have been treated in such a way that as we pass through the door we seem to enter a kind of pavilion. The room is inadequately lighted but the painter has ingeniously made capital of this disadvantage. From the corbels which support the vaulting he painted rods carrying curtains simulating brocaded velvet, hanging in rich magnificence. On the dark walls these form a beautiful

decoration in themselves, stretched from pilaster to pilaster. Where the light justifies a figure composition the curtains are drawn aside and a shallow stage is revealed, upon which the members of the ducal family are seen in the occupations of everyday life. Heavy garlands of fruits and leaves are festooned from the crown of each lunette, so that the whole room appears to be hung with Christmas greens.

From the moment of entrance, the eye travels upwards to the novel ceiling decoration. The vaulted surfaces are painted to simulate gilded stucco modelled in high relief. This cool but sumptuous monotone sets off with strong effect the wonderful "eye" in the central compartment, a painted opening through which one sees the blue sky and a great white cloud passing overhead. Mantegna had not been to Rome when he designed this room, but he must have been familiar with the plan and lighting of the Pantheon and found in it his inspiration. The opening is finished by a parapet over which intent faces are looking down into the room. The picture is so arranged that the figures seem to be lighted from the sky above them, that is, the source of light appears to be in the picture itself. This is one of the first instances in which ceiling design assumed the importance it retained in all later interiors and the experiment here made of creating an illusion had important consequences in later art.

The originality shown in the arrangement of the room is equalled in that of the family portraits. Restoration has coarsened the colour and the effect, but the main composition remains as the painter designed it. The principal group, above the mantelpiece, is seated in a garden court. The curtain has been drawn sharply to the left and appears to pass behind the painted pilaster. The figures are pushed well to the front, those in the foreground almost encroaching upon the space of the actual room; beyond the pilaster at the right the brocaded curtain forms a background for the courtiers mounting the stairs. Whether a special incident is represented we do not know, but in any case the great interest of the picture is in its expression of permanent qualities. Kristeller says: "What Mantegna gives in his personages is almost more biography than characterization. He sums up with clearness and precision the traits that express their physical and spiritual conditions and the habits of their lives, nay, their whole life history." For analogous examples one must go far afield. This conception is nearer to Hals or to the eighteenth century than to Mantegna's contemporaries (Pl. 30B).

On the entrance wall the scenes are embraced in an open loggia overlooking a highly varied stretch of country in which the characteristic forms of the medieval Italian landscape are broken by heights and natural bridges and enriched by towns and magnificent Roman ruins. These frescos are brought lower on the wall than the main group, but the original point of sight is retained, so that more of the ground space is visible than in the former picture.

At the left stand the attendant grooms holding the great charger from which the marquis has dismounted. A number of blooded hounds remind us of the famous kennels kept by certain great Italian families (as Ercole d'Este). Behind them rises a high hedge of fruit-trees, so favourite a motive for North Italian backgrounds.

Beyond the doorway to the right is the principal theme, the family of the duke greeting the oldest son, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, a famous prince of the church. The scene depicted seems to be his triumphal entrance into Mantua, which took place in 1472, the duke and his retinue riding some miles outside the city that they might accompany the cardinal on his entry into Mantua. In this instance the brocaded curtain is thrust behind the corner partition above the level of the heads and conforms to the severe compositional motive of uprights used in the design. A tall tree in excellent proportion to the figures is carefully drawn and its full foliage enriches the upper part of the picture. The landscape, recalling that in the "Death of St. James," is arranged in formal lines encircling the citadel. Medieval and Roman buildings and sculptural monuments form a kind of allegorical setting for these Renaissance humanists and poets.

Above the entrance door with its mouldings utilized as a pedestal, appears a group of putti supporting the dedicatory inscription "To the glory of Ludovico II., Marquis of Mantua. . . ." The fluttering movement here is in contrast to the staid sobriety of the portrait groups. Even the curtain is twisted sharply in a spiral. The forms of the putti are somewhat heavy, but their movement is admirably rendered and the painter has given them special charm with their moth and butterfly wings.

So much space devoted to one piece of work is justified by its exceptional interest and originality. Kristeller says, "There are few creations of such epoch-making significance in the history of painting as the frescos in this small apartment." Unfortunately, they are in poor preservation and neglected, but they are so complete, so right, so eloquent of Renaissance culture that too much emphasis can hardly be placed on them.

At the height of his career Mantegna executed the imposing "Triumph of Caesar" (Hampton Court), a procession of figures passing through nine panels, perhaps intended as stage setting for the revived classical dramas. The composition is full of variety and interest but repainting has almost entirely destroyed the original surface.

The rhythms of this procession in martial time contrast with the infectious dance of the nymphs in the "Parnassus" (Pl. 30c). Here movement is entirely free from the angularity usual with Florentine painters and there is no sense of tension. The Graces approach classical types of mature beauty, being natural in proportion and well developed. They touch the ground with lightest tread because they are beautiful dancers, but it is real bodies of flesh and blood that are so lightly poised. The draperies accentuate the movement and the painter has simplified them as compared with other examples where he apparently moistened the material so that it should cling to the bodies. The measured gaiety of the theme is carried out in the colour. The distance is a deep green-blue, the late sunlight throws long shadows on the tender pea-green grass of the foreground, with which the parti-coloured costumes of the dancers are in complete accord.

The highest attainment of pure classic beauty in Mantegna's work is found in a finished drawing in the Uffizi representing Judith with the head of Holofernes. The sheet inscribed with the master's name and the date 1491 is an example of great beauty of composition. It might be a study for bas-relief, so carefully has it been balanced. Judith, her back turned to the spectator, stands in a statuesque pose, her sword still firmly grasped. She slips the head of Holofernes—held with delicate disdain—into the open sack thrust forward by her accomplice, a swarthy negro with turbaned head and great hoop earrings. This heavy face offsets Judith's clear-cut profile with loose falling ringlets, which may well have been suggested by some classic coin. The beautiful proportion of the skull is revealed by the fillet which confines her hair, the ends fluttering down in a long ribbon describing ornate but flat curves against the background.

Mantegna was sixty-five when he painted the "Victory Madonna" (Pl. 31A) of the Louvre. It exhibits the matured talent of the artist, his inventive faculties unimpaired. It is a long way from the static formality and iron-like figures of the St. Zeno altar-piece to this festive enthronement which might be selected as a typical altar-piece of the North Italian School, and one in

which the ideal reached its perfect expression. The Virgin's figure is lifted high on its pedestal, decorated with bas-reliefs. Her mantle forms a hood about her face, which is grave and beautiful. With her left hand she supports the Child standing on her knee, as she bends in the opposite direction to extend to the kneeling donor a gracious benediction. The Virgin thus subordinates herself to the Child, who becomes the central object of worship. In this case, Mantegna has given him more winning human charm than usual. The aged St. Elizabeth, kneeling in the foreground, is such a type as may be seen in Italy or Spain where, in losing the fulness of youth, the face has acquired a kind of grandeur from the structure of the bones.

The donor, Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, who is present as a little snub-nosed boy in the decorations of the Sala degli Sposi, exhibits the same extraordinary features in this striking portrait of the armoured knight. About the throne stand heroic warriors looking like knights of the Niebelungenlied, with their Teutonic features and rope-like hair. The group stands in an "apse of dark green foliage in which great golden fruits gleam out and birds sit and sing against the sky" (Cruttwell). Deep arbor-vitae greens recur throughout the composition, which is brightened with vermilion in dispersed areas, orange-yellow and pale wine colour. Disciplined lives are shown in a disciplined art—fitting the dignity of human life as Marcus Aurelius would have conceived it, and fitting the solemnity of ecclesiastical ceremony.

Mantegna painted numerous devotional Madonnas, among them several of unusual character. The example at Bergamo is so strange that it requires some time for adjustment to its mood of other-worldliness, unexpected in the work of a man generally intent upon the realization of the material world. It has a deep fascination and comes nearer to the Orient in its mystic content than any other Italian painting.

During nearly half a century this great artist was engaged in the active practice of his profession. In all that time there is never a sign of weakness or uncertainty; his ability develops from year to year, his horizons broaden, and his creative impulse never fails.

CHAPTER XV

CORREGGIO

Padua was the centre of inspiration for North Italian painting in the second half of the fifteenth century. Especially in the case of Ferrarese painters was this teaching productive of important results.

Cosimo Tura (1430–1495), a pupil of Squarcione, is a pre-eminent example. Tura made a virtue of Paduan defects and produced some striking results. He is always extreme, delighting in eccentric forms, metallic sharpness, and ugly types. Sometimes he seems wilfully bizarre, as in the allegorical figure in the National Gallery with its extraordinary throne of gilded tin! At other times, as in the "Pietà" of the Louvre, the deep colour in a closely related scheme of low value draws together and simplifies his form. In this case, the group has the actuality of polychromed sculpture, an effect which is enhanced by the use of the sculpturesque point of sight. There is something bitter about his style, which is ugly without being repulsive. One feels as if its bitterness had a remedial virtue. Berenson characterizes him by saying, "His world is an anvil; his perception is a hammer."

This harshness is somewhat less marked in Tura's pupil, Cossa (c. 1435–1480), whose art was given a greater breadth as a result of contact with Piero della Francesca. The decoration of the Schifanoia Palace in Ferrara affords a most interesting example of work developing from these diverse influences. The execution of these frescos was, however, chiefly in the hands of assistants, and the impressive character of the master himself may better be studied in the beautiful decorative painting personifying Autumn (Berlin), a powerful female figure laden with grapes, who towers above a low-lying distant landscape.

In the next generation, virility is gradually replaced by an enervating sentimentality well illustrated in the style of Costa (1460–1535). Before he moved to Bologna in 1483, Costa gave the first direction to the art of Dosso Dossi, which, enriched later by other contacts, developed into a style of much originality (see "Circe," Borghese Gallery). In Bologna, Costa formed a partner-

ship with the goldsmith Francia (1450–1517), who took up painting rather late in life and produced works with a smoothness of finish and soft sentimentality often irritating by their impeccability. The impressive altar-piece of the "Virgin and St. Anne" (National Gallery) strongly recalls the work of Perugino. It is gracious and charming but too artificial and calculated.

In the early years of the sixteenth century, many local artists were deflected from their normal course by the influence of the great personalities of the High Renaissance. In Milan, the art of the old Lombard school, under the leadership of Foppa, was to a great extent supplanted by Leonardo's influence. Among Leonardo's immediate followers were Ambrogio da Predis, Boltraffio and Solario. Other painters of the older generation modified their style as a result of his influence. This is illustrated in the work of Luini and in that of Sodoma, a painter of Piedmont. In other localities, as in Bologna, the arrival of Raphael's great altar-pieces excited universal enthusiasm and was followed by an exodus to Rome of painters desirous to receive his instruction (Ricci). Before 1500 many provincial artists were attracted to Venice by the fame of Alvise Vivarini and Giovanni Bellini. The gathering in that centre increased during the sixteenth century as Titian's name became more and more widely celebrated.

In contrast to this work of a more or less derivative character is the art of Correggio, which arose unheralded in a region hitherto barren of an important art movement—that of Parma. Antonio Allegri, one of the most exceptionally gifted painters of the Renaissance (1494–1534), was named from the village of his birth, Correggio.

Very little is known of Correggio's first masters, but he appears, early in life, to have visited Mantua, where the work of Mantegna and of Costa became his inspiration. Temperamentally no two men could be farther apart than Mantegna and Correggio, but early acquaintance with the master's works undoubtedly suggested the direction in which the younger man chose to turn his energies. Twenty years after the "Victory Madonna" was completed, Correggio painted the "Madonna Enthroned with St. Francis," now in the Dresden Gallery (Pl. 32A). The interval of time is evident; the picture is more open and spacious, and the poses are more suave than in the fifteenth century. The landscape and the forms and attitudes of the foreground saints recall Umbria. The inheritance is strong in this case, although the

individual qualities of Correggio's style are already apparent. The Virgin, for whom Mantegna's figure has been the direct inspiration, is silhouetted against the light, and the firm graciousness of her gesture is accentuated. The effect is queenly, as it was with Mantegna. Light surrounds her, a shimmering pale gold. "Here in peace, in the peace of summer and through its fragrant air, now one, now two, anon a shoal, of air-swimming children, who have no need of wings, who have no need of clothes, who have no need of parents, glide in, glide out" (Sturge Moore). The cardinals, green-blues, and umbers belong in range and quality to the decorative colour of the fifteenth century. The delicate adjustment of old and new elements give the work great loveliness.

Of the same period is the picture in the Uffizi, formerly attributed to Titian, the "Madonna and Child in Glory." Happy content and feminine beauty have developed here, and the picture has an enchanting grace and refinement. The Child is like an exquisite jewel, the Mother serene but radiant.

One other example shows decorative motives derived from Mantua and emerging entirely transformed in the care-free art of Correggio. He decorated an apartment in the Convent of San Paolo in Parma, enlarging the small square room into a garden bower. The ceiling is a dome divided by gilded ribs into concave compartments like melon sections. These the artist has adorned with trellises of verdure, in which apertures open revealing baby putti struggling in a riotous game (Pl. 31D). The shape of the openings is repeated by the light bunches of fruit above, and at the centre ribbons are gathered together to form a geometric design which suggests Leonardo. The planes of the decoration are preserved by the simple colour scheme of dark blue-green foliage, grey-blue sky, and warm tones of flesh, fruits, and ribbons. The curved sections of the wall below are decorated with figures in monochrome. The design has a freshness, variety, and beauty all its own. The garland of childish forms is full of unstudied grace; the faces are those of really beautiful children, with large eyes, tumbled curly hair, and rollicking smile, their play bubbling over with merriment. How the abbess must have delighted in this room!

Structure in this instance was conditioned by the architectural form of the vaulted room itself. The painter could not do otherwise than accept it and make his design conform to it. Correggio enriched the effect by emphasizing concentric circles as a second-

ary movement. In his next ceiling design, that of the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma, the semi-spherical dome was without subdivisions, and the artist was free to choose his own anatomy of pattern. It is indicative of the direction in which his interests were tending that he did away entirely with vertical emphasis and relied solely upon a pattern of concentric circles formed by his figure groups. The scene represents the Ascension, treated as if actually taking place above our heads, so that Correggio here carried to their logical conclusion the experiments begun by Melozzo da Forli and by Mantegna. The outer circle is composed of the clouds upon which the heavenly hosts are seated. This the painter has built out so solidly against the upper illuminated sky that the shape of the dome itself seems to have been altered and the area contracted. This is in contrast to San Paolo, where the room appeared to be enlarged by the decoration. The effect of the great multitude seen from below is extraordinary. There is no mystery; they are all figures of flesh and blood. They have splendid physique, free and graceful movement, and little that is intellectual or spiritual, although there are types of brilliant and radiant beauty among them. The boy angels plunge in and out through the clouds as if this were their native element. This was painted within a decade of Michelangelo's ceiling in the Sistine Chapel, from which it differs in every respect: in the application of the "illusionist" point of sight, in the massing of light and shadow as a unifying basis for the grouping, and in the mood of joyous irresponsibility.

Correggio was very original and very successful in this instance, but when immediately afterwards, he was employed to decorate the dome of the Cathedral of Parma, where, in similar fashion, he represented the Assumption, he lost the sense of propriety in his delight in problems of foreshortening and sacrificed essential qualities—simplicity, and restraint. All the extravagances of Bernini and the noisy vehemence of the Baroque are already apparent. Individual motives of great beauty are lost in the general confusion. Berenson shows that some of Correggio's most successful smaller works were based upon figures drawn from such confused groups. "All they need is isolation." This is illustrated in the lovely idyll of Ganymede. The figure repeats an angelic youth from one of the pendentives of San Giovanni Evangelista.

Correggio, free from all neo-Platonic mysticism, all regrets and religious aspirations, was a true interpreter of Greek myth. Such

figures and conceptions as the "Danaë" of the Borghese Gallery (Pl. 32c) recall the charm of fourth century terra-cottas on the one hand and the eighteenth century in France on the other, but in Correggio's painting the silvery beauty of the colour casts a spell of pure poetry about the little figure who is no longer a thing of sense but a creature of the artistic imagination.

No doubt a similar success in lifting the subject into the realm of fantasy accounts for the charm of the "Leda," in which Correggio has treated the myth without a breath of indelicacy. The central group is isolated by line and mass from the background of trees. The picture embodies the "sylvan" spirit, the leaves swaying and light flickering across the beautiful young flesh; a passing sensation creates an answering expression on the face—both are equally fleeting and superficial. It is all rhythm and flowing ease. Ground and trees are golden brown which is carried into the flesh in shadow and lost in its cool ivory lights. The sky is luminous green-blue, the mountains blue-green. There are a few touches of local colour: the Millet blue of the figure behind Leda, and the saffron pink of the one behind her, Leda's mantle is an ashen attar of rose—no words can describe the subtle play of the colour which Correggio employs.

Although Correggio died in 1534, it is impossible to study his work without being conscious of the break with the convention of earlier painting. The tendency to astonish which constituted the essential characteristic of the Baroque is already well developed. This is illustrated in all his typical altar-pieces, in which he departs more and more from the old balanced composition. For the emphasis on the median line and equal balance, whether strictly symmetric or unsymmetric, Correggio substitutes a strong diagonal from corner to corner of his picture, or swings the masses into the form of an S. The whole composition becomes uneasy and the poses melodramatic. It is with later art that we are obliged to compare his work, with the seventeenth century in composition and again with the eighteenth century French art in conception. There is no other Italian artist whose work shows so dainty a sophistication, such small and perfectly formed hands, with their pink finger tips, such bright-eyed invitation. It is in the execution of bits here and there that Correggio is ravishing and there is no canvas of his where they may not be found. All the gaiety and happiness of these sylvan creatures without mind or soul gathers about the pearly child—but that child is the Christ Child, not Dionysius, as one might expect!

From his earliest canvases Correggio shows his interest in light and this, combined with beauty and originality of colour, is nowhere better illustrated than in the "Holy Night" in Dresden (Pl. 31B). It seems an answer to the fiat, "Let there be Light, and there was Light." The effect is more real than any produced by modern impressionism, and the contrast of this radiance with night out-of-doors, its quiet and its dew, forms the real beauty of a picture in which the figures are affected and exaggerated.

Brilliance and clarity of colour are shown at their best in the mystic "Marriage of St. Catherine" in the Louvre (Pl. 31C), which is like Venetian glass. We seem to see the group through an amber transparency; the gold of the frame appears dull and lifeless beside the gold of the flesh tints. The limpid quality must be the result of glazes used over a white ground. The shadows are perfectly defined; there is no uncertainty, yet they seem like cloud shadows marking topography; they conceal no forms, but rather increase their beauty by the color relation, so that the eye passes with enchantment from light to shadow realizing that there is a common medium in the flesh itself. Hair, trees, and landscape are of closely related tones. Haze veils the brilliance of the sky. The Virgin's dress is rose terra-cotta, her robe dullish peacock blue. The shadow behind is deep but vibrating.

One is tempted to pass from picture to picture, led on by charm of colour and inviting types, but the master's style has been sufficiently illustrated. Throughout his life Correggio employs the theme of masculine strength and feminine delicacy in a manner comparable to that of the sculptors of Louis XV.'s days. He chooses models lovely and engaging in themselves, but such is the beauty of his colour and the magic of his lighting—now sunlight, now moonlight—that he lifts these earthly types to captivating loveliness by his genius as a painter, for "in the art of painting there was no secret hidden from him. . . . Correggio . . . gathered together as in a posy the jocund vigour of Emilian poets and painters" (Ricci). As Raphael chose the beautiful, and Michelangelo the heroic, so Correggio chose the dainty.

CHAPTER XVI

EARLY VENETIAN PAINTING

With the exception of the art of Correggio it was the intellectual side of the Italian Renaissance that furnished the impetus in the period so far studied, but the inventive genius of Italy was by no means exhausted in this one phase. Thereafter the stimulus came from another source, however, for flesh as well as intellect was heir to the new freedom; the senses awoke later only because they had been so long repressed under the ban of religion.

Venice became to the art of the sixteenth century what Florence had been to that of the fifteenth century. She was not, however, an intellectual centre but a trade centre; her honoured citizens were not scholars but merchant princes for whom the classical revival had little interest. Rising from the sea like Venus, beautiful, picturesque, and gay, Venice reflected in her art the opulence of her surroundings; everything she touched became picturesque. Painters developing here would necessarily have other aims and conceptions of beauty than those of Florence or Padua. Very reluctant at first to break with old tradition, Venice outdistanced all contemporaries when the naturalistic impulse was finally accepted. Separated from the mainland and at home on the sea, she found intercourse as easy with East as with West. Venice "carried to the East arms and merchandise and Byzantium sent back architects and mosaicists" (Molmente). This resulted in the persistence of Byzantine characteristics here long after they had been abandoned elsewhere in Italy.

The names and records of painters were kept from an early date, but these men were in reality artisans and all may be grouped together as illustrating the usual features of Byzantine art. The works produced under this impulse were very splendid in a purely ornamental sense. Refulgent ornaments of an altar, they have been called. Magnificent carved and gilded frames in several storeys, with pinnacles and finials, provided a subordinate place only for the painted panel which fulfilled its function successfully by the mere sparkle of its colour against a gold ground.

The struggle between Byzantine and Western elements, which

in other Italian schools took place during the thirteenth century, was here prolonged for a hundred years. But as elsewhere in north Italy, the Venetians modified the severity of the Byzantine formulas by Gothic grace. There is nothing in Venice to correspond to the genre painting of the fourteenth century seen elsewhere; it is as though a chapter in the historical development had been omitted. The same traditionary type of work was still being produced in the first half of the fifteenth century when Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello of Verona were summoned by the Venetian Government to renovate the frescos of the Ducal Palace.

Even as early as the visit of these painters, representations of the history of the Venetian Republic decorated the walls of the palace and each of them added a new incident to the proud record of the city. The decorations of this building, if they survived, would furnish priceless material for a history of Venetian painting, but periodically they were destroyed by fire. This fact must be borne in mind when we are inclined to think of the painting of Venice in the fifteenth century as restricted to devotional subjects.

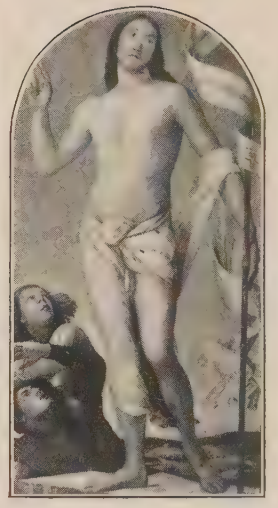
Although coming from different parts of the country, Gentile and Pisanello had inherited in common the medieval tradition. In their work, charm of sentiment and self-conscious Gothic line was combined with "a new fresh sentiment of natural beauty" (Testi). Painters of a city where even the routine of everyday life is transformed into pageantry could not remain unaffected by the appeal of human joyousness in such work, yet it was some years before any noticeable change appeared in local painting, which remained medieval in character even beyond 1450. Before this date, however, the founders had appeared of the two most important bottegas of the fifteenth century, those of the Vivarini and of the Bellini, and the new impulse was felt both by Antonio of Murano (active 1440–1464) and by Jacopo Bellini (active 1430–1470). "They later separated from one another and proceeded by different routes; the first, rich and decorative, tended to strengthen the group of artists at Murano, the other, profound and illustrative, led the way to the true Venetian School," Ricci says of their styles. These artists at Murano who originally signed themselves simply "da Murano" afterward added the surname Vivarini, which in consequence is sometimes applied to the earlier painters of the Muranese group, as well as to the later members of the school. In order to make their identity quite clear, the sequence of artists might be listed as follows: (1) Antonio da Murano, who worked at first in partnership with (2) Giovanni

(*A*) Antonello da Messina. Portrait of a Condottiere. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*B*) Giovanni Bellini. Doge Leonardo Loredano. National Gallery, London.

(*C*) Antonio da Murano. Adoration of the Kings. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*A*) Bartolommeo Vivarini. Madonna enthroned with Saints. Naples.



(*B*) Alvise Vivarini. Resurrection. St. Giorgio in Bragora, Venice. (Anderson)

(*C*) Crivelli. Pietà. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*D*) Alvise Vivarini. Madonna adoring the Child. Church of the Redentore, Venice. (Alinari)

d'Alemagna, whose style as well as his name proves his German origin. Later Giovanni's name disappeared from the signatures and his place was taken by (3) Bartolommeo *Vivarini*, the younger brother of Antonio da Murano. The activities of the school were continued into the sixteenth century by (4) Alvise or Luigi Vivarini, the nephew of Bartolommeo.

For the sake of clearness we will look first at the work of the Vivarini and later speak of the contemporary productions of the Bellini family.

Italian characteristics are pronounced in the delightful "Adoration" in Berlin (Pl. 33c), which shows the influence of Gentile and Pisanello and is apparently the independent work of Antonio da Murano before his association with Giovanni. The decorative convention is strong and nature makes no exactions. No light and shade disturb the flatness, and the stucco ornaments are not out of place. The brown and olive colouring of the background is more like intarsia than like landscape. It resembles some oriental pageant such as the Durbar, seen through many mellowing folds of gauze.

The "Madonna Enthroned" in the Venetian Academy (1446) illustrates the style of the first partnership and in this instance the German characteristics predominate—notice the ornate "carpentry" form of the throne and the design of the parapet, the proportions of the figures and their lack of modelling, and the softly rounded, expressionless facial types.

Influence of the Paduan school is evident in the work of Bartolommeo (active 1450–1499), after the middle of the fifteenth century. In the "Madonna" of 1464 in Naples (Pl. 34a), the design of the throne and its relief decoration, the forms of the putti, the magnificent brocades, and the garlands of flowers are all eloquent of Paduan contacts. But even here Bartolommeo shows distinctive marks of the true Venetian painter, chief among which is the feeling for the mature rounded curves of the body, appearing formless in the work of the earlier painters, but with him suggesting the sensuous direction in which Venetian art tended.

The enchanting "Adoration" belonging to Mr. Morgan is an outcome of the influence of Gentile and Pisanello.

The formality of the devotional Byzantine Madonna was not forgotten and this, combined with the new suggestive form, resulted in some very lovely examples like that belonging to Mr. Platt. Phenomenally long from knee to shoulder, the contours of the figure are stately. The Virgin is clad in a soft rose under-dress

and a deep green mantle, falling about her in simple folds. The face has a childlike roundness and exquisite delicacy of skin. The Christ Child and the cherubs wear the curious little belted tunics used by the Paduan painters, and the heavily bunched fruit garlands which hang from the throne are also Paduan motives.

The preferences of Bartolommeo led him to develop on the painterly rather than the decorative side. He was Venetian in his sentiment, in his matured forms, in rich and harmonious colour, and in the combination of unidealized types with hieratic pose.

As a product of the influence of the Paduan and Muranese schools, the work of Carlo Crivelli (1440–1493) should be mentioned here. He was busy in Venice until about 1470. Soon after he left the city, and remained during the rest of his life in the hill towns of the Marches, where he left numerous anconas and small devotional pictures perpetuating a style long since gone out of vogue in Venice. He had a genius for expressing what he saw in terms of pure, almost heraldic, design and his unexcelled craftsmanship enabled him to create an entirely individual stylistic art. Crivelli's treatment of form was not unlike that of the ancient Assyrians; for him, too, bones, muscles, tendons, veins, hair, and even facial expression, were primarily interesting as pattern and only secondarily as representation. Sometimes even flesh forms seem to have been achieved only after a struggle as with a resistant material like metal; at others the imitation of substances such as jewels or tears is so exact as to be deceptive. A thoroughly characteristic example is the "Pietà" of the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 34c), where the extreme exaggeration of frenzied grief is saved from melodrama by a fierce virility and primitive passion. His mannerisms of gesture are shown in the Virgin's hand; expression is almost a grimace in all the faces; stylistic treatment of form is well illustrated in the body of Christ. The quality of the colour is characteristic, as is this wonderful manipulation of the tempera medium, with which he produced a surface as perfect as porcelain. At the same time, he achieved with this exacting medium a plastic breadth and a luminosity of shadow which are astonishing. Crivelli brought the tempera technique to an unequalled perfection.

Several of his loveliest productions are in the Brera in Milan: narrow panels with the enthroned Madonna set in a strange profusion of fruits and magnificent brocades, or enchanting altarpieces splendid in the lustre of jewelled surfaces, with saints who seem visitants from some romantic court of love.

He left Venice about 1470, immediately before the visit of Antonello da Messina (c. 1430–1479) which had such important consequences for the school. As his name implies, this painter was a native of Sicily, but he had come into direct contact with Flemish painters and had acquired the mastery of their technical method, which differed from that in use in his own country. Oil as a medium was not new to Italian painters, for even Cennino Cennini gives directions as to its preparation and use, but the mixture or method employed in Flanders had apparently been as little understood heretofore by the Italians as it is by us to-day. That some new features were revealed to them in the method of Antonello is proved by the way in which the practice of contemporary Venetian painters changed at this time. Early in the sixteenth century, the Flemish method was superseded by what may be called oil-painting in the modern sense of the term. This came about largely as a result of improved methods of distillation which made turpentine or petroleum generally available (Laurie).

But Antonello had far more important qualifications as an artist than those of a merely technical nature. He stands apart from the popular schools of Italy and exhibits in his work both the strength of his personal conceptions and the technical achievements derived from Flemish teaching, whether or not he visited the Low Countries. His vivid manner of seeing and delineating form is illustrated in numerous portraits of the same virile type studied by Florentine realists. He represents the iron-like armature of the heads, the set jaws, and the frank bravado, as in the example in the Louvre (Pl. 33A). The mask of the face is relieved against a dark ground and the modelling of the planes broadly defined by light and shade. The colour is clear and liquid. Here the hair is chestnut brown, the eyes of the same colour and full of life.

In his religious pictures, he shows a very different side, sometimes making a poignant appeal, as in the "Crucifixion" of the National Gallery where he has interpreted "The End." Mary and John represent watchers for whom hope has gone out, Mary with her hands on her knees looking straight before her, John with arms opened out as he gazes upward as if to question what it all means. The picture is as motionless as a Perugino but charged with intense feeling.

Returning from this digression to the painters of the Venetian school, we find the work of the Muranese artists carried into the

sixteenth century by Alvise Vivarini (active 1461–1503), who executed historical scenes in the Ducal Palace as well as the portraits and the ecclesiastical subjects which survive. In working out problems of grouping, Berenson says, he was the most successful up to his time in the Venetian school. This is well illustrated in the enthroned Madonnas with the assembled saints. But although his sincerity is evident and the grouping is carefully planned, there is a certain constraint which prevents our full enjoyment. In the Berlin Museum, the "Enthroned Madonna," under a vaulted niche decorated with gold mosaic, has great richness and beauty of colour and is strong in its effects of lighting.

The Virgin adoring the Child asleep on her knees, a motive of North Italian origin, became as popular in Venetian painting as was the Child lying on the grass before the kneeling Virgin in Florentine. It was never more charmingly interpreted than in the "Madonna" by Alvise in the Church of the Redentore (Pl. 34D). The enchanting child-angels touch the strings of their instruments very softly, with a full understanding of their grave responsibility. Such cherubs play to the Christ Child all through the Venetian school, in which the theme of music recurs constantly. Several peculiarities of treatment which frequently appear in Venetian painting may be noticed in this picture. The Virgin throughout the fifteenth century retains much of the Byzantine solemnity of expression. The heavy drapery, with few exceptions, is drawn over the head and entirely conceals the hair. The Virgin thus retains more of the devotional character which Florence sacrificed to feminine charm. Half-length figures are general and are often posed behind a parapet on which the Child is supported. A hanging of some kind is in almost universal requisition as a background, endlessly varied according as formality or freedom is to be emphasized. Now a panel of splendid brocade hangs severely as a central motive; now a piece of drapery is carelessly thrown over a curtain rod as in this instance, or is even thrown over a wire which bends with its weight; sometimes it is placed at one side and a landscape is shown beyond. Titian uses the great folds of the curtain, pushed sharply to one side, as an effective means of balance for his freer grouping.

A late and very impressive work of Alvise is the "Resurrection" in the Church of San Giorgio in Bragora (Pl. 34B). The panel is arched and the towering figure of the Saviour standing on the tomb entirely fills the space. This is one of the greatest conceptions of this subject, in spite of the effeminate type of the

Christ and the over-elegant curve of the body. Alvise conceived the Redeemer as rising, triumphant indeed, but serene—rising as he had always expected to do. The miracle is revealed by the effect upon the two subordinate figures, who start back in astonishment. There is something Giorgionesque in their radiant joy. It is their movement reinforcing his which makes the upward sweep so compelling. Instances are rare in the treatment of this subject in which the attendant figures either contribute to the movement or enhance the dramatic effect.

It is, however, quite impossible to judge the picture aside from the effects of colour and light, in which it is wholly original. The values are very quiet, the colours almost forgotten in the effect of light and atmosphere. The dawn is breaking. At the horizon, the colour is pulsating orange which merges into a clear jade green. The head and shoulders of the figure reach up into the heavens and are seen against the zenith, a grey-green blue, in which the stars have already faded from sight. It is a perfect representation of a sun-illumined sky.

The art of the Vivarini family was brought to a close in the work of Alvise, although his influence as a teacher persisted in painters of the next generation.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BELLINI

It is necessary to turn back to the visit of Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello in the first half of the fifteenth century, for among the young men for whom it was of the utmost importance was Jacopo Bellini (active 1430–1470), the true founder of Venetian painting.

It is generally considered that as a young man Jacopo received instruction as well as inspiration from Gentile da Fabriano and that he accompanied him to Florence. After 1450 Jacopo was established for a number of years in Padua and he was also active in the ducal courts of North Italy, where we are told he acquired the title of "a second Phidias." Among the few paintings which remain three are signed: the "Crucifixion" in Verona, the early "Madonna" in the Academy, Venice, and the "Madonna" in Lovere. Both technical method and draughtsmanship recall Gentile, but the work reveals finer artistic qualities and greater seriousness.

It is only since the recovery of two of Jacopo's sketch-books, however, that it has been possible to form any adequate conception of his place in Venetian painting. When Jacopo's widow died, several books of drawings were left to her son Gentile. Shortly before his death, he willed a book of their father's drawings to his brother Giovanni on condition that the latter complete a painting which Gentile left unfinished. It is probable that the sketch-books which we still possess were among those so highly valued by Jacopo's heirs. The originals are preserved in the British Museum and in the Louvre, the latter being the more advanced. Facsimiles are available in most art libraries, and from them an excellent idea may be gained not only of his astonishing fertility of mind and range of interests but of his technical characteristics as a draughtsman.

The subjects embrace everything, and the treatment shows the quick play of Jacopo's fancy and imagination. Fry points out that he uses motives not revived again until the sixteenth century. There are the usual religious and devotional subjects,

but probably the most surprising pages are those in which pagan themes are treated. Jacopo's classicism is in advance of contemporary Florence and is free from the pedantic element characteristic of Padua; he treats these subjects with the zest of a new discovery. Backgrounds offer varied interests, sometimes a vast landscape is touched in an almost impressionistic way; again the distance is filled with buildings shown in an exaggerated perspective which at times makes them appear drawn out like an accordion. These architectural features are often illustrative of local surroundings. Streets and loggias, judgment halls, banqueting rooms, stables, courtyards, exterior staircases, balconies and chimney-pots are shown.

As if to prove that youth and life are eternal only as they appear in art, he includes the study of an iris in full colour. With its succulent stem and fragile butterfly petals, it is as fresh now as when he first folded it into his book of drawings. From such a book, Ricci says, "the artists immediately following Jacopo acquired thoughts, motives, narratives, as the fathers of the church derived them from the Bible: in it one finds the themes that the following painters developed and amplified as in the Bible one finds the fundamental ideas of the books of the ages of our faith."

Jacopo Bellini had a more cosmopolitan spirit than either of his sons; whatever great titles they might have acquired, neither would have been called a second Phidias. When they turned the leaves of their father's sketch-books, it was not to linger over his classical compositions or his fantasies, nor to be led into new fields of experiment; a clearly defined interest led each of them to seek inspiration along a special path, from which throughout his life he seldom deviated. Gentile followed the descriptive tendency seen in the older painter's work, and Giovanni based his style on his father's religious subjects.

Gentile (1429–1507), probably the elder, was originally the more famous son. In 1479, when the Sultan Mahomet II. sent to Venice for the leading portrait painter, Gentile was selected to go to Constantinople, where he painted the portrait of the Sultan, now in an injured state in the National Gallery. The historical paintings which he executed in the Ducal Palace were described by Ridolfi. They have perished and we remember Gentile chiefly for his pictures of contemporary life. Exact rendering of buildings and surroundings appeared for the first time in his backgrounds (A. Venturi), as may be seen in the Corpus Christi procession passing through the square of San Marco (Pl. 38B). Our interest

is centred in an examination of detail, in comparing the façade of San Marco as it was then with its present condition, perhaps. Undoubtedly that was in large part Gentile's interest, and he delighted in the ability which enabled him to transcribe all he saw with such accuracy and charm. This picture is not alone an illustration of the manners and customs in Venice at the end of the fifteenth century; it is also an example of his delicacy and precision of execution.

Similarly the "Miracle of the True Cross" takes place in surroundings which no doubt represent an actual locality. The processional cross, having fallen into the canal, is recovered by a white-robed priest from the surface on which it floats. To left and right, on the banks of the canal, kneel the leading citizens of Venice, very compact and very immobile groups, taking no part in the action, not even that of interested spectators, but present as supporters of the faith. In the group at the right are magnificent portraits which Crowe and Cavalcaselle say "unite the dignity of Masaccio and the finish of Van Eyck." They are all seen in profile and appear like a series of medallions, as Venturi says. The colour scheme is composed of pinks and ochres in the buildings and neutralized white, red, and black in the figure groups.

The "Sermon of St. Mark" was finished by Giovanni after Gentile's death and perhaps much altered. It has suffered from later restorations but it is still a brilliant and splendid canvas. The scene is laid in a foreign city where unfamiliar buildings and foreign customs are shown—notice the oriental women at the right. In the middle distance, with measured tread, a giraffe traverses the principal square (a traveller's tale, perhaps).

The descriptive style which we associate particularly with Gentile Bellini and his father was practised quite generally in Venice, and Molmenti considers that the art of Carpaccio was derived from other sources than the Bellini school. Carpaccio (active 1478–1522) is the Benozzo Gozzoli of Venetian painting. His reputation was at its height about 1500 and he was on several occasions associated with Giovanni Bellini and was able to command an equal salary.

Many of Carpaccio's interiors suggest a comparison with Flemish paintings, but the sentiment is very different. The scenes show the winning grace and fantasy which is essentially Italian. Such examples as the "Birth of the Virgin" in Bergamo and the "Annunciation" in the Venetian Academy illustrate his combination of realism and idealism. But Carpaccio's talents were best dis-

played in the continuous narratives which he executed for the halls or oratories of the Scuole of Venice. The stories of St. Jerome, of St. George, and of St. Ursula give delightful glimpses into the life of the day. Frequently his scenes are laid in foreign cities. For these views he was indebted to the illustrations at this time available in a book of foreign travel published in 1486—Bruydenback's "Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam," with drawings by Reuvich (Molmenti).

Carpaccio's colour was used most successfully to unify his picture. This is well illustrated in the "Preaching of St. Stephen" in the Louvre. The architectural settings, so differently designed from those of the Florentines, are important factors in unifying the colour schemes. In this example, sky and houses are the same value: one cool, one warm ivory. Costumes of black and white are dispersed through the group and a delightful harmony of crimsons and oranges is arranged, held together by the burnt grass colour of the ground. It is not startling or wonderful in any way but very *good.*

Especial interest attaches to the St. Ursula series (Pl. 36B). A reconstruction of the room and its decoration is given in Molmenti's book on Carpaccio. In studying these pictures it should be remembered that as a result of alterations in the chapel which they originally decorated, six inches have been cut off the top of each picture. The only scene that escaped this mutilation is the "Departure of the English Ambassadors," one of the most beautiful. Notice the relation of scale between the figures and the stately apartment, and the arches and staircases revealed through the open doorway, which add greatly to the effect.

In his devotional pictures Carpaccio preserves a reminiscence of the tender, half playful solemnity so characteristic of Bellini (see "Santa Conversazione" Caen), but in certain panels of his later years he suddenly becomes sombre and austere. His "changing outlook forced him to take lonely ways," indeed. Such paintings as the "Blood of the Redeemer," the "Pietà" (Berlin), and the "Meditation of the Passion" (Metropolitan Museum), exhibit this phase of his work. The descriptive painter is transformed.

In the so-called "Meditation on the Passion," the figure of the dead Redeemer is flanked by two hermit saints absorbed by the intensities of the inner life. Is the painter representing the dark night of the soul? Many of the elements of this composition and of that in Berlin are fantastic in the extreme, but even with the insistence given to every detail by the strong demar-

cation of light and shade, the spiritual content preserves the unity of a common emotion. The colour is rich and the landscape diversified by numberless groups of birds and beasts after the manner of earlier painters. The inspiration is that of a preceding generation and the work is essentially archaistic.

In strong contrast to the running commentaries on Venetian life with their panoramic backgrounds upon which Carpaccio and Gentile were engaged is the contemporary painting of Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516). For a long period, from about 1465 to 1505, he led the way in Venice with constantly enlarging conceptions of the world of the senses. Although most of his subjects are religious there is no monotony, for the work of Giovanni shows his advance from year to year in the comprehension of the aims of painting as an art of light and colour. As a youth in Venice studying the Byzantine mosaics he responded equally to their ceremonial formality and to their splendidly sonorous colour. A vibration of gold runs through his painting which connects the golds of Byzantium with those of Titian.

This early impression, if, as we suppose, his boyhood was spent in Venice, was overshadowed after the removal of the family to Padua by the harshness of the Paduan manner. There are instances where Giovanni approaches Mantegna, the closest resemblances occurring when both derive their motives from Jacopo Bellini. There is never anything arid in Giovanni's work and the influences which move him are fused in his early period to serve a devotional ideal never excelled in his later masterpieces.

This is well illustrated in the "Madonna Adoring the Sleeping Child" (Davis Collection) and in the "Pietà" of the Brera (Pl. 35B). In the latter an intense note of personal bereavement is struck. Bellini is here revealed as the "painter of pity and of love." The juxtaposition of the heads of Christ and the Virgin is eloquent, as is that of the hands. The Virgin seems to hold back her tears that she may assure herself once more of the incomprehensible reality. Her features are large and heavy, the face old and careworn. Cold grey clouds make horizontal bands against the sky—grey dawn giving no promise of the sun. Such depth of feeling is rare in Giovanni's work; it does not properly belong to his "delicate organization as a Venetian colourist"; the true direction for his genius to take is toward more external display, freeing itself at each step from the personal element and increasing in ceremonial richness.

Throughout his career Bellini's treatment of landscape is

notable. He understood its interpretative function and attempted to relate the mood of nature to that of his subject long before such an idea had occurred to other painters, but it is impossible to appreciate this in a black and white reproduction. The "Gethsemane" of the National Gallery, an early work, illustrates this well. Without being able to co-ordinate the picture perfectly Giovanni has shown a transitory effect of light which he must have retained in his memory. The sky is suffused with the apricot glow of early dawn, and against its brilliance the clear-cut line of the hills is silhouetted. Through the middle distance at the right, still in the breathless tranquillity preceding the dawn, the band of soldiers approaches. The interpretation of the theme gains from the emphasis upon beauty and silence so soon to be desecrated. In the "Transfiguration" in Naples, the light strikes Christ's garments and makes them "white and glistering." "The landscape setting is important and "the invasion of the actual world by the divine spirit is wonderfully conveyed" (Fry). Examples might be multiplied, for there is scarcely an instance where the beauty and the meaning of his picture have not been enhanced by atmospheric effects.

It was only by exception that Giovanni attacked the problem of the nude figure. It is best treated in the Christ of the Berlin "Pietà," which is carefully and conscientiously studied, but even in this picture it is evident that qualities of texture in flesh, hair, and draperies compelled his warmer interest. In the altar-piece of San Giobbe there are two nude figures representing St. Sebastian and St. Jerome. A Florentine painter would have made this the excuse for the study of an athlete and of an ascetic, but if the heads of Bellini's figures were concealed it would be difficult to distinguish the youthful body from the aged one.

In these altar-pieces little interest is evident in portrait study; the St. George, of the "Madonna with St. George and St. Paul," is an exception. The Virgin's type as a rule is rather immobile and expressionless, but in a few instances he has created feminine beauty which is a foretaste of Titian, as the St. Catherine in the "Madonna with St. Catherine and the Magdalen" (Pl. 35A). Throughout his work the graces of childhood appeal more than in that of any contemporary, with the possible exception of Leonardo. The lovely shapes of the small bodies, the opportunities they afford for delicate and sensitive rendering of texture, combined with their premature seriousness, give them an altogether

exceptional charm. This applies to the angels rather than to the Christ Child, where a more conventional treatment is usual.

Bellini rang countless changes on the simple theme of the Mother and Child, from the deeply devotional Madonna praying before the sleeping Infant to examples of a more superficial beauty in which the religious theme became secondary to the study of effects of light. These half-length figures are sometimes composed in a vertical, sometimes in a horizontal field. In the former case the Virgin is unattended. She is always grave and a little sad; she exhibits the Child to the outside world and rarely caresses him for her own pleasure. In 1488 Giovanni painted in an extended horizontal form the "Virgin Attended by St. Catherine and Mary Magdalen" (Pl. 35A). This was the prototype for numerous Sante Conversazioni in the work of later Venetian painters. In early examples by Titian the gradual steps by which he emancipated himself from the devotional type may be followed.

Giovanni found his greatest opportunity in the formal altar-piece. Three paintings of the "Madonna Enthroned," illustrate contrasting types of design, those of the Church of the Frari, of San Pietro in Murano, and of San Zaccaria. The Frari altar-piece is small and in its ornate frame appears to have been wrought in precious materials (Pl. 36A). It is of the very essence of Venice; San Marco and Byzantium are behind it; its painter seems to have been nurtured in the golden glow of the mosaics. As in the St. Zeno altar-piece of Mantegna, the architectural design of the frame has been repeated in the painted architecture, which suggests an apse and side chapels. The Virgin is enthroned beneath the semi-dome of the apse. At the foot of the throne are two enchanting cherubs, "those who pipe and those who play." The saints, separated from the central panel, are venerable aristocrats who stand as guardians, but their interest as individuals has been subordinated to the effect of lighting which has become the painter's principal theme.

A wholly original treatment appears in the Muranese "Madonna" (1488), which is composed in a broad horizontal field (Pl. 35C). Architectural features are dispensed with altogether, the group is moved out of doors, and the formal element is furnished by the broad draperies hanging behind the figures. The kneeling doge is presented to the Madonna by St. Mark with a ceremonial grandeur which foreshadows Titian. Although represented out of doors, the group is lighted from a definite source and not shown under the diffused illumination of the sky. Lionello Venturi

thinks that Bellini was conscious of the incongruity of the effect and that for that reason he reverted in the later San Zaccaria altar-piece to the apsidal motive used in the "Madonna" of San Giobbe.

This picture, executed in 1505, exhibits a fully matured and ripened style rather than further innovation. Bellini has carried to a broad sonorous finale the motives of the San Giobbe altar-piece. The architecture of the Renaissance niche provides a rich setting for the figures, but the painter's love for nature leads him to include beyond the pilasters a narrow space of sky and a delicate tree branch.

Peter and Gerome, splendidly draped figures in a frontal pose, are embraced in oval contours which are reinforced by the movement of the female saints seen in profile. Although brought together in the group, each saint is isolated by the absorption of religious reverie. The arrangement is architectonic, the line of the heads echoes the elliptical curve of the entablature, while a curve in the opposite direction first suggested in the position of the hands is strongly reinforced in the lower boundary of the group. In the Virgin's figure important improvement in composition over Bellini's earlier representations is to be noted in the position of the knees, which obviates the effect of two superimposed cubes that makes an awkward appearance in the San Giobbe and Muranese altar-pieces.

The simplicity of the motives employed and the perfect harmony in all the relations of line and form are already representative of the ideals of the High Renaissance. Bellini also shows in this example a greater dependence than heretofore upon the enveloping atmosphere, which leads him gradually to suppress the contours and to develop increasingly the special qualities of the colourist.

In 1513, as a man of over eighty, Giovanni painted the altar-piece for San Crisostomo in which he tried a new arrangement of figures and landscape. The point of sight is on a level with the paved portico where St. Christopher and St. Augustine stand as heroic terminal figures directly lighted from the right. A Renaissance parapet with delicately carved pilasters separates them from the landscape, which is framed like a lunette by the soffit of the portico with its mosaic decoration. In the centre, elevated on a rocky pedestal, sits St. Jerome turning the leaves of a volume supported on the trunk of the tree, one branch of which with a tufting of leaves makes a strong pattern against

the sky. The figure is raised high in front of the line of hills, and, in contrast to the foreground saints, is enveloped in a light by which the whole landscape is suffused. We must marvel once more at the adaptability of this painter whose power of invention remained so fresh to the end of his long life.

One superb portrait among those ascribed to Giovanni is universally accepted—that of the Doge Leonardo Loredano (Pl. 33B) in the National Gallery. This is as great in draughtsmanship as in colour. The doge is represented in his robes of state and in his official aspect. It is direct and forcible: the face is full of animation; the colour is a splendid play of white, gold, and orange, brilliantly illuminated against the old blue enamel-like surface of the background.

Shortly before his death Bellini received a commission for a Bacchanal a subject not appearing elsewhere in his work. To analyse this last picture is to anticipate the work of a later painter. It is known that the canvas was completed by Titian, who added the landscape, exhibiting a type of design familiar in his contemporary "Bacchanals" in Madrid. Assembled in the foreground are Bellini's goddesses, taking a sedate part in this scene of revelry. They might be engaging in a sacred rite, so virginal and restrained is their action. Draperies of ivory whites, blues—Antwerp, cerulean, and electric—cardinals neutralized by wine colours, shades of rose, and Naples yellow, are all treated with a fresh crisp play of light and shade. This delicate scheme adds to the effect of poetry which even the roistering satyrs cannot bring to earth. This picture is the final marvel of Bellini's long career, in which an evolution, elsewhere the work of succeeding generations, is compressed into the activity of one lifetime, where may be traced the transition from the Byzantine inheritance to the very threshold of the High Renaissance.

Berenson says that Bellini "left an art more completely humanized than any that the western world had known since the decline of Greco-Roman culture." His style increased in breadth, in freedom, and in exuberance to the very end. As we view the progress of Venetian painting, there is no indication of the place where Bellini's work ended. He was so sensitively organized and so responsive that Giorgionesque qualities appear at the end of his career and no break is apparent when the brush is transferred from Bellini's hand to the hand of Titian.

Giovanni Bellini was the head of a great bottega, and the master indirectly, if not in person, of practically all the artists

who gathered in Venice during the last years of the fifteenth and the opening years of the sixteenth century. "He is like the central sun of a universe—an entire planetary system is dependent upon him." His followers were inspired from other sources as well. Many of them were drawn from the school of Alvise Vivarini, others from centres outside Venice. But it was hard to escape the influence of this splendid old painter whom Dürer found in 1506 to be "the best of them all." Venturi might be describing Bellini's influence when he says, "As the eyes retain the image of a great light when they have turned away so a great genius impresses himself on his pupils."

It would be out of proportion in such a general survey as this to do more than mention the leading painters of secondary talent who came under Bellini's influence. Bartolommeo Montagna (1450–c.1523), the founder of the school of Vicenza, owed almost as much to Padua as to Venice. His art is austere and somewhat unyielding, with shadow masses a little laboriously mapped out, but it is relieved by the harmony of his colour schemes. His emotional power is shown in the "Pietà" of the Sanctuary of Monte Berico. The central group could hardly be excelled in depth of feeling. The figure of the Saviour is delineated with infinite tenderness, the gesture of the Magdalen is expressive, and the picture is free from exaggeration.

Cima da Conegliano (c. 1460–1517) was apprenticed to Montagna, through whom he came in touch with the style of Alvise Vivarini. Later he was influenced by Giovanni Bellini. The traits derived from his first master remain the fundamentals of his style and are admirably illustrated in the "Incredulity of Thomas" (1501) (National Gallery). Strong light defines the main blocks of shadow but fails to illuminate the group. The Apostles stand before the undecorated wall of the room broken by two arched openings revealing a landscape so subdued in value that it appears to continue the plane of the wall. The gesture with which Thomas advances to touch the wound of Christ is admirably expressive. Several of the types are interesting although the painter has slight command of facial expression. The richness and beauty of Cima's landscape is seen in the "Baptism" (San Giovanni in Bragora, Venice) and the "Madonna Enthroned" (Vienna) (Pl. 36c). In his Madonna pictures the Child is playful and animated, the Mother grave, with a face rather heavy but not hieratic. The colour is strong and the effects are often quite festive (Louvre) without being thrilling in any sense.

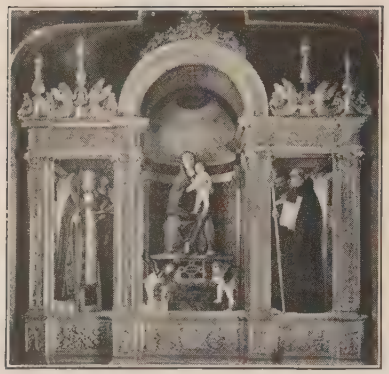
Marco Basaiti (c. 1470–1527) was first associated with Alvise Vivarini but later showed the influence of Giovanni Bellini. His style is simple, sincere, and direct. Landscape is always a charming feature of his work and in the "Madonna of the Meadow" (National Gallery) the cattle grazing in the middle distance are just such a motive as Puvis de Chavannes might use. His colours are often pale in range and the atmosphere highly clarified.

Although these painters borrowed from many sources, they were working at a period of progressive development and they escaped the inertia of an eclectic style. Their paintings show an individual response to beauty. The galleries are full of examples which illustrate how the tradition of Giovanni Bellini was carried on and how it intermingled with other inheritances, and was modified by later elements as the art of Giorgione and Titian began to be echoed. But the study of these artists as individuals belongs to a more detailed history.

(*A*) Giovann Bellini. Madonna with St. Catherine and the Magdalen. Academy, Venice. (Alinari)

(*B*) Giovanni Bellini. The Pietà. Brera, Milan. (Anderson)

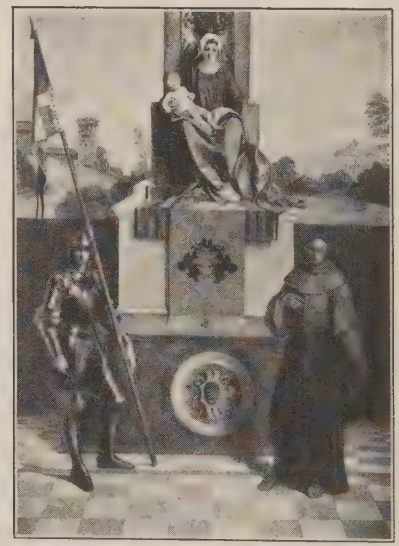
(*C*) Giovanni Bellini. Madonna Enthroned. S. Pietro, Murano. (Anderson)



(*A*) Giovanni Bellini. Madonna Enthroned.
Church of the Frari, Venice. (Alinari)

(*B*) Carpaccio. Dream of St. Ursula.
Academy, Venice. (Anderson)

(*C*) Cima. Madonna beneath the Orange Tree.
Vienna. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)



(*D*) Giorgione. Madonna Enthroned.
Cathedral, Castelfranco. (Anderson)

CHAPTER XVIII

GIORGIONE

Among the many painters who formed the school of Giovanni Bellini were two men of pre-eminent genius who brought to complete fruition all that was implicit in the earlier style. The art of the first, Giorgione (1478–1510), formed the transition from the ecclesiastical style of the fifteenth century to the freedom of the High Renaissance.

There is little of incident to record in his brief life cut off in its thirty-second year by the plague, but his influence is commensurate only with that of Raphael and Michelangelo. The new conception of beauty which appears in Venetian painting in the first decades of the sixteenth century originated with him and compelled such universal homage that practically every young Venetian painter passed through what is known as a Giorgionesque period.

Three paintings are universally accepted as Giorgione's work, the "Madonna Enthroned," Castelfranco (Pl. 36D), the "Three Philosophers," Vienna, and the "Tempest," Giovanelli Collection, Venice. The Castelfranco "Madonna" was executed about 1504. It arrests the attention at once because the composition is so unexpected, yet the elements are traditional and no arrangement could be simpler. The originality lies in the realization that new relationships and a new proportion are sufficient to produce so profound a transformation. Giorgione uses the nature setting while retaining the bilateral symmetry of the usual enthroned Madonna. The canvas is rather rigidly divided by vertical and horizontal lines, but the pyramidal arrangement of the figures serves to hold the parts together.

The pictures of Mantegna and of Giovanni Bellini show the Virgin's throne raised on a kind of pedestal above the group of saints and in a measure inaccessible. This theme has been employed by Giorgione but although he elevates the throne extraordinarily, irrationally, there is nothing hieratic or forbidding about the exalted figure. Lost in the reverie which we shall find characteristic of Giorgione's interpretation, the Virgin seems quite unconscious that she is "blessed among women." Her throne is

unadorned except for the brocaded panel, and she wears no jewels, crown, or halo. The point of sight in this picture is on a level with the arm of the Virgin's high throne so that one commands a view of the landscape and feels the figure enhanced by the light and atmosphere which surround her. The profundity of the space against which the sacred figures are shown serves to give them the value of a revelation.

The sense of unification with the universe which is the essence of the religious experience is perfectly exemplified here. It is as if Giorgione had suddenly discovered the immanence of spirit, the whole world spread out, the whole heaven rejoicing because a child, a new spirit-creature, had come to birth! The rush of joy seen in this picture is the new thing that Venice brings to art—that Florence had never felt. Florence is playful and whimsical in the fifteenth century, but in the sixteenth century she puts away childish things and becomes either profound or grandiose.

The traditional blue and red of the Virgin's robes here are changed for green and rose. How charming is the strong note of rose in her mantle; the green, like summer moss, of the central panel and her dress; and the green-black of the saints against the dusky crimson of the parapet! The group is broadly illumined from the upper right and the landscape swims in warm sunshine.

The suggestion for this composition was given by Giovanni Bellini. Other painters took up the motive, but Lionello Venturi shows how easily the dignity of the religious subject was lost and the devotional aspect subordinated to the secular, as in the painting of Cima (Pl. 36c). In Giorgione's picture, "the religious spirit is liberated, not lost, but spiritualized and refined." The picture stands midway between the conceptions of Bellini and those of Titian.

Venetian patrons in the fifteenth century had shown little interest in idealistic subjects. Venturi considers that this resulted from the lack of a despot to gather about himself groups of artists and poets, as in Florence or Mantua. A change in taste took place in the sixteenth century and Giorgione was particularly fitted to meet the new demand. Vasari tells us that he had a predilection for the things of *amore* and was himself an admirable singer. Castelfranco was not far from Asolo, where Queen Catherine of Cornaro held her court. Echoes of the court life may have reached him even before he left home.

It was inevitable that this Venetian painter so highly sensitive to beauty should take peculiar delight in subjects which left his

inventive powers unrestricted. Such are the canvases known as the "Three Philosophers" and the "Tempest." In the former (Pl. 37A) the human element is predominant, but there is a new interest in the study of nature, and the treatment of colour and lighting creates a sympathetic mood in harmony with the seriousness of the figures. "It is as if for the first time the artist had really seen nature." There is no consciousness of motive hunting, mastery is attained by grouping little simple themes. The youth seated in the centre has something in common with the type of St. John the Evangelist. The seer at the right, as Venturi says, might hold the tables of the law in place of the "tavola cabalistica" of the astrologer. The lighting of the figures from the left is not consistent with the sun, which is sinking in the centre distance. The colours are brilliant. We see the disc of the sun behind a hill which makes a note of deep blue against the warm evening sky, with patterned clouds of a slightly violet-grey. Delicate trees are marked in an arabesque against the light. Warm greens in the middle distance lead up to the deep bottle-green of the seated figure. The vermilion of the next figure produces the richest effect, with the golden and mahogany garment of the bearded philosopher.

The "Tempest" (Pl. 38A) is a pantheistic idyl in which the human figure is essential but no longer pre-eminent. The interest of the painter is captivated by the changing effects of light and the emotional appeal of nature. How true and how romantic is his interpretation of the storm. We participate in the excitement and the perturbation of nature waiting in anxious tension for the next clap of thunder, for the clouds are riven by the zigzag of the lightning. The trees move in plastic masses in the first breath of the storm, the houses seem to shiver on the bank. No reproduction gives the slightest suggestion of the enthralling beauty of this picture. The colour is splendidly interpretative as well as harmonious. The central note is struck in the deep blue thunder-clouds and in the water, still deeper in colour. The verdure is rich and golden green as it so often appears before a storm breaks; the houses on the river bank are golden with cool lights. The flesh of the woman is brought out against white drapery; the man wears a cardinal jacket. We may be inclined at first to resent the figures, but they are needed. They are indispensable as enriching elements and yet so absolutely secondary in interest that their importance is scarcely appreciated until one tries cutting them out; they stand with "life's activity suspended, indifferent to physical conditions."

An effect of nature is here made the door through which we pass to the world of the imagination! Few pictures of any epoch equal the "Tempest" in sensuous beauty. It is as typical of the Venetian Renaissance as is the "Birth of Venus" of the fifteenth century in Florence.

Florentine art, at its best in the fifteenth century, always tended towards a treatment of things in their essential nature. It was an epic school. Venice never sought to grasp structure in the same scientific way, but substituted the aspect of nature, the life of colour and light under which forms were lost in a richer pattern of chiaroscuro. Florentine painting is illuminated by a steady light "discovering" minutiae; in Venetian painting, whether figures or landscape, light and shadow chase each other over the surface until the objective world is transformed into a sensuous vision. Giorgione uses a landscape which has no pronounced topographical interest but is distinguished by its superior beauty. Looking back on the pictures of Venice, one is surprised to realize how few of them could from their background motives be identified as subjects painted in one of the most picturesque cities in the world. It seems as if the greater painters had sedulously avoided the very motives every visitor of today records in his note-book. "Journalistic" art was not an aim with them; from their extraordinarily brilliant life and surroundings they extracted the essence, the ceremony and gaiety, new and complex effects. They showed nature and its moods as an expressive accompaniment to the mood of man. Nowhere do we find in the great men a provincialism that limits the appeal of their work to one time or locality. It is interesting to realize this balancing of the interests of subject and design and to remember that the appeal is the appeal neither of subject nor of art but of the emotional content reaching what Pater calls the "imaginative reason" through the avenue of the senses.

In these unquestioned works Giorgione reveals himself as a poet and a colourist, an innovator who created all things new. We turn now to attributed works with a criterion sufficiently fixed so that we may recognize the Giorgionesque if not the real Giorgione.

Records show that Giorgione painted a "Sleeping Venus" with which the picture in Dresden (Pl. 37c) is generally identified. It may have been begun by Giorgione and finished by Titian. It has Giorgione's pure vision, which more nearly approaches the classicism of the fourth century Greek than that of any other

(*A*) Giorgione. Three Philosophers. Vienna. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Giorgione (?). Fête Champêtre. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*C*) Giorgione. Sleeping Venus. Dresden. (Alinari)

(*A*) Giorgione. The Tempest. Giovanelli Collection, Venice. (Alinari)

(*B*) Gentile Bellini. Corpus Christi Procession. Academy Venice. (Anderson)

painter of the Renaissance. The figure is slim and youthful yet entirely free from the angularity of adolescent figures in Florentine painting. The firm flesh is set off by the brilliance of the crumpled folds of drapery, "which are of the same nature as the best Greek work" (Norton). This contrast is enhanced in the original, where the upper part of the body rests upon the cardinal cushion from beneath which the sumptous ivory-white folds break against the flesh tones. The yielding line of the relaxed figure is in harmony with the tranquil horizon and is strengthened by the abrupt vertical cliff. The appeal is that of impersonal beauty approaching the perfection of the Divine Idea. This became the prototype of a long series of Venetian Venuses, none producing for us as this does the perfect moment. Later painters could not keep this unconscious loveliness, and in spite of compensating magnificence of colour and technique they fall short of ideal beauty.

Shortly before his death Giorgione undertook the decoration in fresco of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. This is the one example authenticated by documents (Bode). The pictures are described by Vasari and others and were engraved by Zanetti, but nothing remains of the original works except a scarcely decipherable figure. This, with the engraving, shows us a standing woman half draped, and again suggests a Praxitelian type. The figure is more developed than the Venus and furnishes a link to connect the early style with the richer contours of the "Fête Champêtre" (Pl. 37B).

The first impression in the latter is of maturity, which is felt in the magnificent fulness of all the forms. The conception of beauty in this example is different from that in preceding pictures and the attibution to Giorgione is questioned. The pensive mood verges on languor in the figure at the left with its studied and ample curves. All the forms are heavier in build than before. Venturi points out Giorgione's preference for the sunset hour and for mysterious atmospheric conditions, while here the figures are saturated with the warmth of noonday.

The generous contours of the great tree masses at the right lead to the zigzags of the middle distance interlace. These rich forms are echoed in the central group. The figure in the immediate foreground balances the distant oaks. In this complex arrangement of symmetrically disposed masses, the balance is attained within the *depth* of the three-dimensional space. The melting blue distance at the left is offset by the sun-illumined

field through which a shepherd leads his flock. The colour rises to a crescendo in the dazzling note of the crimson cap. This concentration of heat against heat (against the fields of golden wheat) is emphasized by the strong grey-blue of the distance, by the near-by green hill behind the standing figure, which by contrast is cool, and by the violin player's dress, a blue-black above the instrument. The flesh tones are deeper and richer than the frame, really "old gold," against which the white drapery is distinctly green.

One does not ask the raison d'être of this strange group of costumed and nude figures, indeed they are almost forgotten as separate entities in the lyrical mood of the picture as a whole, like some incidental episode in a poem whose subject is in reality the fruitfulness of nature. Whether we attribute the Fête Champêtre which Cox called "the loveliest of the Giorgionesque visions" to the artist himself or to a follower, it exemplifies a late phase of the period and we turn back from an art thoroughly matured to consider a number of portraits.

One of the few of which "scarcely a doubt of authenticity has been expressed" is the portrait of a youth in Berlin, discovered some "twenty-five years ago in the Palazzo Giustiniani in Padua" (Bode). The youth stands behind a parapet upon which he rests his right hand. The pose is haughty and Venturi speaks of the "melancholy under the cold gaze." The head is well preserved (Justi) and the interest centres in the expression of quiet restraint and dignity. We may see here "what dreams Giorgione dreamed" (Venturi). The flesh is warm golden living flesh, the hair dark brown, the background a neutral moss-green, the dress heliotrope-lilac. This is a youthful work. Another portrait generally attributed to Giorgione is the "Knight of Malta" of the Uffizi. It is thoroughly repainted but in its poetical conception and in its characteristically Giorgionesque modelling it is unsurpassed. The figure stands preoccupied in dreamy thought, fingering a rosary. There is a richer play of line than in the Berlin portrait and the light and shade on the face contribute to the mystery.

Within recent years the "Portrait of a Man" "has been brought to light in a villa near Florence." It is now in the Metropolitan Museum. Unlike the preceding, it is in complete preservation. "Its unrivalled freshness has preserved for us the poetry of the great master's conception and the magic of his art" (Bode). The figure is turned with the shoulder forward, we see the face only because, by chance, the dreamer has turned it towards us and

transfixes us with that searching gaze. Here again, "life is suspended unaccountably" as the man absent-mindedly draws off his glove, the whole tide of his emotional life suddenly bearing down upon him. The mood is so dominating, the gaze so fraught with meaning, that the spectator is drawn into a responsive reverie. This is not a literary or an associated idea; it is a purely sensuous appeal.

It is a natural step from portraiture of this type to the "Concert" of the Pitti, identical in its essential subject, the revelation of personality. Here the sensitive fingers sustain a chord whose penetrating quality reaches us in echo from the expressions made eloquent and moving in response to music. The controversy is still open as to whether Titian or Giorgione painted it. The forms bear close relationship to Titian's "Man with Glove," but the quality seems to be more nearly that of Giorgione than of Titian. The way in which the mask alone stands out from the background, the modelling of the planes of the head, the thin liquid painting, are Giorgionesque.

In the development of portrait painting Giorgione's work marked a definite advance. A momentous change in ideal takes place, fact and physiognomy are no longer foremost—*mood* has become the subject and momentary illumination has taken the place of scientific record. He opened the gate to a world of the imagination, to a vision of the actual transfigured by ineffable radiance, to humanity seeking to understand the poetic greatness felt in its own soul.

The spirit of youth is still hesitant, almost reluctant to exercise all its new latent but unproven powers. The next moment the joy of the senses will be enough; the tremulous, half-pensive mood will have passed for ever. "Only Giorgione and Keats and such rare spirits can put in terms for the ordinary plodding mortal to grasp, the evanescent visions of the mind" (Norton). He created something of classic perfection and of pagan completeness in the few radiant years of his activity.

CHAPTER XIX

TITIAN

Giorgione and Titian were born only a year apart, but although Giorgione died in 1510, for more than half a century thereafter Titian continued to produce one masterpiece after another. His works were sought by pope, emperor, and king. Among the hundreds of canvases which still remain there are surprisingly few which show any fatigue or any lack of the divine fire. It was a triumphant career in which every decade was marked by great achievements.

Titian (1477–1576) was born in the southern Tyrol in 1477. He was in Venice, already pursuing his art education, ten years later. His early works show the influence of Giovanni Bellini, who, when Titian first entered upon his career, had produced the altar-pieces of San Giobbe and the Frari, the panels of the "Virgin and Child," and the half-length sante conversazioni. Association with Giorgione left its deep impression also. Even in their own day, Vasari tells us, the work of the two young men could not be distinguished; so it is not surprising that there are still differences of opinion as to authorship.

With Giorgione's death, in 1510, and the natural development of Titian's mature powers, the more naturalistic and dramatic qualities of his work are apparent; they are present however almost from the first, even in examples which are distinctly Giorgionesque. One of the earliest pictures attributed to him is the "Gipsy Madonna," Vienna, which certain critics still believe to be by Giorgione. The quiet atmosphere, the thoughtful if not pensive Madonna, strengthen this view, but there is a greater feeling of naturalism, a little less refinement in the type. The composition is based upon the scheme of Bellini—the half-lengths standing behind a parapet, the curtain hung at one side to reveal the distance, how charming a bit of nature! The white linen kerchief in contrast to Bellini is loosened and slips back, revealing the warm richness of the hair. The Child is delightfully babylike and confiding as he leans against his mother.

The composition of the "Madonna of the Cherries," Vienna,

has as its point of departure Bellini's "Madonna with St. George and St. Paul." The activity of the figures contrasts with the traditional placing. The forms are fuller and riper than those of Giorgione; the Virgin's type is similar to that of the Flora (Gronau). One can imagine even in looking at the photograph how brilliant the effect is: the rich note of the central figure (a cherry red), the bronzed complexion of the male saints, and the quality of the baby flesh.

With the next example, the "Madonna and Four Saints," Dresden (Pl. 42A), the sixteenth century style is established. The figures are no longer posed as for a tableau behind the parapet; the bilateral symmetry of the old arrangement is given up. A buoyant Virgin turns in a grandly curving pose towards the group of youthful and aged saints seen against the podium of a columnar building—a motive of constant recurrence in Venetian work. At the left the bearded and roughly clad precursor helps to support the Child—a playful child with his arm round his mother's neck. The subordinate figures are massed against the building and the curtain, but the Virgin's head, with loosely draped white headdress, gleams against the sky. The contrast between the fair Mother and Child and the deeply bronzed saints is unusually marked. The colours have the brilliance of clothes hung out to dry on a sunny day. How beautiful are the textures of the whites, the satin sleeve, the laundered linen headdress, and the fleecy golden-white cloud. Dr. Denman Ross has made a comparative analysis of colour as used by the Florentines and by the Venetians. He considers that the former employ for their shadows a colourless tone near to black, but that the Venetians, in making the transition from light to dark, avail themselves of intensities of colour and pass in the modelling of an orange-red drapery to red, red-violet, violet. That is, at each step towards darkness (each lowering of the value), intensity is preserved by the change to a hue which attains its intensity at a lower value than the preceding, thus the brilliance of effect is greatly enhanced. It is interesting in the Dresden Gallery to go from Titian's picture to the "Sistine Madonna." In the amount of actual light imprisoned by Titian the new attitude towards atmosphere and colour is demonstrated.

Of the early period and similar in its use of half-length figures is the "Tribute Money," "probably painted for Alfonso d'Este, whose device on gold coins includes the phrase, 'Render unto Caesar'" (Gronau). The story is told in two figures, sharply

contrasted in every respect. The Christ type unites depth, sweetness, and force. The features are almost classic and are opposed to the realism of the questioner. In the original the contrast is accentuated by the colour: the red bronze flesh tones of the latter figure with his golden white robe and the clear skin of the Christ against his robe of crushed strawberry with golden lights and his mantle of strong green-blue.

The "Man with the Glove" of the Louvre (Pl. 39c) is still Giorgionesque. He looks into the future of his life and the steadiness of the averted gaze suggests its absorbing interest. Note the purpose of the brow and eyes and the youth of the mouth, controlled by this purpose but not yet possessing it. The physical aspect is as far as possible subordinated to the interpretation. Not yet has the difference between Titian and Giorgione developed to the point where Claude Phillips's comparison would apply. Phillips says that in Giorgione sadness and foreboding come from the plenitude of inner life; he is passionate and contemplative; he sees the world lyrically. Titian's portraiture is grander, more accomplished, and for obvious reasons more satisfying, yet far less penetrating, less expressive of the inner fibre, whether of the painter or of his subject.

Titian's first great picture on an idealistic theme is the so-called "Sacred and Profane Love" (Pl. 40c), a title never associated with it in the artist's day. The subject is not known, and the various attempts to explain it have not met with general acceptance. Within the low rectangle of the frame, two women are seated by the side of a marble fountain adorned with classic reliefs. An amorino busily stirs the water, and the suggestion of liquid sound creates a distinctly pleasurable element. Titian never more perfectly preserved the balance between physical loveliness and purely idealistic qualities than in the nude figure at the right. One curve starting from the bent head follows the line of the brow to the long simple sweep of the left side. The firm young body is brilliantly set off against the red of the mantle; the uplifted left arm is seen against the sky, patterned with grey-white filmy clouds. The sumptuously robed figure at the left forms a complete contrast. The folds of her dress gleam dazzlingly against the quiet grey of the weathered well-curb. A bronzed tree binds the two figures together and accentuates the feeling of coolness. At the right stretches a landscape of meadows, with a distant church; at the left a town on the heights is half hidden by the trees.

In no way could this example be confused with the work of Giorgione, but we recognize that his Venus in its idealistic loveliness was the point of departure for such works. The next step that Titian took is illustrated in the canvases which he painted for Alfonso d'Este—now in Madrid and in London. The "Bacchanal" of the Prado might be compared in its passion and mad revelry to Euripides' "Bacchae." How completely it contrasts with the Praxitelean idealism of Giorgione! This example is most instructive to study in colour because of the method which the painter has used to subordinate the individual parts to the requirements of pattern—a pattern which might almost be described in planes like those of a work in relief. But to make such an analysis without the original colour would be futile.

Never was pagan passion more supremely rendered than in the "Bacchus and Ariadne" of the National Gallery (Pl. 40A). This represents as unique a moment in the development of the artist as did the visions of Giorgione—but it is a different moment, a later one, in which the mad beating of the pulse and the pursuit of pleasure crowd out every other thought. The figures are inebriate with life's desires, and this exhilaration has been conveyed in terms of life and colour intensified and emotionalized still further by the light, here accentuating a detail, there pulling a form into the obscurity of the mass.

The episode is taken from Catullus and represents Ariadne forsaken by Theseus, overtaken in the wood by Bacchus and his followers. It is a story of how passion ruled the world in early times. Satyrs and nymphs break through the grove, their cymbals crashing. With lightning swiftness Bacchus wheels and leaps from his chariot at the sight of Ariadne. His strawberry mantle with silvered lights billows behind him. His pivotal leap carries him from shadow into light. Ariadne turns reciprocally in terrified flight, her lovely figure swathed in a lapis mantle vibrating against the green-blue water. The distance is circled at the horizon by lapis and violet-blue hills. Blue is repeated in the draped skirt of the leading nymph. The sky is cobalt with white clouds swinging in sympathy with Ariadne's movement and leading the eye back to Bacchus to follow the circuit once more. Light breaks through here and there as the colour or interpretation requires. The movement of the whole group is impetuous. Soon the revellers will pass and no record will remain in this serene landscape except the crown of Ariadne high in the heavens.

The abandon, the passion, the compositional type, all lead the mind on to the seventeenth century. But the way in which all these things are expressed is entirely Renaissance. The decorative convention is very strong. None of the figures is naturalistically done; on close examination one does not feel the model, or even an invention to follow the model. It is the poetry of form, not its physique, the only necessity the painter recognizes being beauty—beauty as Keats knew it. This is one of the greatest of Renaissance paintings.

Titian's interests at this period were so manifold that it is difficult to make any selection of examples. The last of the Bacchanals was not finished until 1523. The "Assumption," to which we now turn back, was completed in 1518 and is the first of his great altar-pieces. For some reasons it should be spoken of first because it shows the exuberance of movement and colour dedicated to a religious theme and free from the suggestion of passionate desire, but this difference is perhaps better realized after having seen the Bacchanals.

The "Assumption" is one of the great and popular altar-pieces. Titian has done almost more with paint than one would believe possible. The yellow sky is more brilliant than the real light shining on the golden frame, the illumination on the flesh is as strong as that falling on the actual spectator. Perhaps the most astonishing thing is the reality of it all, the solidity with which the figures are modelled, the truth of all the values. The Virgin is magnificent. The quality of her beauty is unique. Majesty and self-forgetfulness are wonderfully blended. The picture is like a hymn of exultation, but it has faults of composition in the too obvious divisions of the space, in the peculiarly meagre silhouette of the Almighty, and in the suggestion in the foreground group of the melodramatic. As painting, the cherub forms that sustain the Virgin's pedestal of cloud are the finest part; the flesh in shadow is close in value to the cloud masses, and the way in which the baby forms emerge into the light of the upper day is altogether lovely. The Apostles below are thrown into the shadow of the cloud.

A very different work of about the same period is the "Entombment," Louvre. The figure of Christ is appealing in its helplessness. The weight is suggested in the kneeling figure at the left who gathers up the lifeless form with tender solicitude. The body is so turned that the outstretched arms form lines of unification in the compactly organized group. A ray of light which strikes

(*A*) Titian. Madonna with the Pesaro Family Church of the Frari Venice. (Anderson)

(*B*) Titian. Charles V on Horseback. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*C*) Titian. Man with the Glove. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*D*) Tintoretto. Vincenzo Morosini. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*A*) Titian. Bacchus and Ariadne. National Gallery, London. (Anderson)

(*B*) Titian. The Entombment. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*C*) Titian. Sacred and Profane Love. Borghese, Rome. (Anderson)

with splendid effect across the rich materials of lake, saffron, and Millet blue adds to the dramatic effect.

The elements used here are exactly such as the seventeenth century might have used; the method of employment is totally different. The desire to preserve a comparatively shallow plane leads to the composition of Christ's body almost without foreshortening. The light which strikes the other figures is intended to define the planes they occupy rather than to round them up in three dimensions. By throwing the upper part of Christ's body into deep shadow, Titian utilizes a naturalistic effect for an interpretative purpose. Not only does the difficulty of discerning the forms hold our attention, but it adds an element of mystery.

The Pesaro "Madonna" (Pl. 39A) was executed in 1526. In an earlier altar-piece ("St. Mark Enthroned"), Titian had employed bilateral symmetry, but the decentralized scheme which he had already introduced in his informal Madonna groups he ventured here to employ for a great altar-piece. The canvas is high and narrow, the figures are confined to the lower rectangle. On a pedestal at the extreme right, approached diagonally by two steps occupying the central plane, the Virgin sits "high and lifted up." The level of the eye falls somewhat below the top of the pedestal, so that the graciously bending figure is seen abruptly foreshortened. Leaning upon her pedestal stands St. Peter in rich drapery. Jacopo Pesaro, for whom the work was executed, kneels at the left, and the members of his family on the opposite side are connected with the main group by the gesture of St. Francis.

Above the group and filling fully half the canvas rise columns of a lofty building. Too strong a vertical emphasis is avoided by the introduction of a cloud, upon which cherubs support a cross. It throws its shadow, perhaps with a double significance, across one of the columns, and carries the eye once more to the Virgin and to the unconscious Child playing with his mother's veil. With the exception of Correggio no one had led the eye by such diagonals and curves before.

The following decade, 1530–1540, was an important turning-point in the artist's life. In 1530 his wife died and a few years later Pietro Aretino settled in Venice and became an intimate friend. Titian, Aretino, and Sansovino were spoken of as the Triumvirate for some twenty-five years. During this time the painter led an epicurean life at his home, Biri Grande.

Claude Phillips calls this the period of great nudes and great

portraits. One of the most famous is the so-called "Venus of Urbino." The pose of the figure follows that of Giorgione very closely but the mood has changed utterly. "In Titian's figures . . . the glance of the eye is often distinctly and sharply focused in the eye of the beholder, and the action of the figure is motived by the presence of the beholder. The painted image is the corollary of the being that looks upon her" (Norton). In this instance a genre rather than an ideal atmosphere is suggested by the surroundings. It is difficult to avoid wondering what splendid Venetian costume is to emerge from the cassone for the adornment of the lady. After his visit to Rome the proportions of his nude figures changed and the influence of Michelangelo is evident in such examples as the "Danaë" in Naples.

In the picture of the "Presentation" painted at this time (1534–1538), Titian availed himself of the Venetian tradition in the treatment of the scene which may be studied in the earlier work of Carpaccio. The prototype is found in Jacopo Bellini's London sketch-book. The picture was executed for one of the Scuole, whose building is now used for the Venetian Academy of Arts and the picture is exhibited upon the wall for which it was designed. Gronau praises especially the fine colour of this composition, but compared with Titian's other work it seems cold and studied, magnificently as it suggests the spectacle of Venetian life.

Like Leonardo and Michelangelo, Titian, who drew a pension as state painter, was commissioned by the government to paint an episode from contemporary history. He chose the "Battle of Cadore." As in their cases, we know the subject and the enthusiasm that the work aroused in its day, but although Titian's work was completed, it was seen during forty years only, being destroyed in the fire of 1577, in the Ducal Palace.

In 1530 Titian finished his great altar-piece for SS. Giovanni e Paolo, representing the assassination of St. Peter Martyr in a lonely wood. The picture was destroyed by fire in 1867 and is now replaced by a copy. It exhibited the most dramatic phase of his work and showed the full development of his powers as a landscape painter. Constable named it among the four greatest paintings of landscape. Titian was a mountaineer and his imagination was stirred by the trees "growing wild and free" and by a sky which had "lost its peace."

In the late picture of "Jupiter and Antiope" in the Louvre the theme supplies the motive, as in music, and the background gives the orchestration. The landscape is developed in broad pastoral

passages of supreme beauty. The warmth of luxuriant nature rejoices the eye and relaxes the senses: "he paints a certain opalescent twilight which has in it as much of human emotion as of imitative truth." The background of this picture is the type which was developed by the northern painters of the seventeenth century. Titian's technical method—underpainting, blocking in of local colour, rubbing of opaque and transparent tone—is a decided factor in the greater likeness to nature which his works show. Vibrancy results from the interpenetration of colours.

In 1545 Titian made his first visit to Rome. Vasari gives the account of his meeting with Michelangelo and of the honours he received. Many works of this period are lost, but one of the most astonishing remains, the unfinished group of Pope Paul III. and his grandsons (Farnese)—a wonderful and terrible picture of old age. The pose of the pope is tense; the head is thrust forward; the wizened face looks like that of an animal; the hands clutch the chair like claws. Gronau queries whether it was because the picture told too much that it was never finished. A comparison with Raphael's portrait of Leo X., both as interpretation and composition, is interesting.

Titian had on several occasions been invited to Germany by Charles V. and finally, in response to a summons in 1547, the painter, then seventy years old, journeyed to Augsburg. At this time he painted the great portrait of the emperor as the victor of Mühlburg (Pl. 39B). The interpretation is not realistic but highly imaginative. A comparison with the portraits by Velazquez in the adjoining room in the Prado illustrates to what degree it is removed from a naturalistic study.

The emperor on his strange horse emerges from a mysterious wood. In the photograph we may criticize the unnatural drawing of the animal; in the original we are conscious of the symbolic interpretation. The horse is half merged in the dark mass of the wood. The surroundings are just real enough to afford support to the figure, in which is expressed the indomitable character of the man. "Small, pale, fading already out of life, he is yet, in his haughty composure, in his impenetrable reserve, as majestic as the half divine Pharaoh and more triumphant than Alexander himself. . . ." (C. Philipps). Brown and Rankin say: "It is easily the greatest European equestrian portrait, in simplicity, dignity, and richness of design, as in the rhythm between the massive foreground and the open distance. . . . The effect is heroic, epic. It is leadership embodied." This is the first modern equestrian

portrait. All English painting is anticipated here, but this has a grandeur unapproached by later painters. It is a work of high creative imagination.

The eight months in Augsburg were crowded with commissions for portraits of numberless dignitaries, and Titian had scarcely returned to Venice when he was summoned to Milan to meet Philip II. and the Duke of Alva, whose portraits he sketched. After 1550 he was employed frequently by Philip, executing for him numerous mythological works and painting his portrait. Morelli says of the example in the Prado: "Everything lives in it. The delicate aristocratic hands alone are a whole biography, the animated drawing of the legs, the brilliant armour, also the sallow, mysterious countenance, with its gloomy, silent gaze—it is really a miracle of art." No praise could be too strong. "These portraits of Philip are Titian's greatest achievement as a court painter" (Gronau).

Gronau discusses the change which Titian's work was undergoing during this decade (1540–1550), when, as he says, the master was *becoming* a colourist. That is, he was changing the point of attraction for the spectator from the easily analyzed and brilliant effects of his earlier canvases to the tonality of his later works, in which vivid colouring is absent and the whole canvas seems to breathe a colouristic atmosphere. Not all critics agree in finding the work of the last years of Titian's life his greatest. In some instances the surrounding depth fails to vibrate and the mealy texture is, as says Cox, "like cheese." Now and again the aged hand and eye betray themselves, but rarely; and we have such characteristic and beautiful examples of this later work as the "Rape of Europa" and the "Actaeon and Diana," both painted for Philip II.

A number of religious subjects date from his latter years, examples in which there is strong dramatic and emotional feeling. Although not among the latest works, the examples in the Louvre and Madrid may be chosen as thoroughly representative. Both show treatment or motive which can be traced in the art of the next century.

In the "Crowning with Thorns" (1560), Titian allows great depth and employs forces of light against dark as the seventeenth century might do. Sharply foreshortened positions are purposely chosen, so that the figure emerges from dark to light in *high* relief. The contribution of all the pressures to a dramatic interpretation is again Rubens' inspiration. The brutal force

(*A*) Tintoretto. Last Judgment (lower part). Santa Maria dell' Orto, Venice. (Anderson)

(*B*) Tintoretto. Crucifixion. Scuola of San Rocco, Venice. (Alinari)

(*A*) Titian. Madonna and Saints. Dresden. (Alinari)

(*B*) Tintoretto. Marriage at Cana. S. M. della Salute, Venice. (Anderson)

(*C*) Tintoretto. Marriage of Bacchus and Ariadne. Ducal Palace, Venice. (Anderson)

of the upraised arms is telling. Christ's head forms the wedge of the movement of the right half. The doorpost is another line of concentration. The shadow in the doorway is deep and the contours are merged in it.

Titian perhaps never gave to any theme a more profound interpretation than to the "Entombment" painted in 1559 (Pl. 40B). An immense advance has marked the years since the Louvre "Entombment." The expression of emotional states by atmospheric tone as well as by every movement of the shrouded figures, the economy of means, the absence of detail, the large magnanimity of all the forms, the suppressed cries, the broken body, and the noble type of beauty in the Magdalen, make this one of Titian's grandest works.

Titian lived to be ninety-nine and painted to the end! His achievement is stupendous. It seems incredible that any one painter could have produced all that we see, and we must add to the collections of every gallery of Europe the numerous masterpieces destroyed by fire. Not only are the number and quality of these works to be considered, but the range of his interests and his grasp of beauty in the most varied forms. An immense physical endurance characterized Titian and made it possible for him to give expression in turn to the idealism and impetuosity of youth, the full-blooded activities of manhood, and the more philosophic attitude of age. No other painter excels in so many lines and none gives the impression of so dominant and triumphant a personality.

CHAPTER XX

TINTORETTO

Before turning to the last great masters of the Venetian Renaissance, Tintoretto and Veronese, mention should be made of a group of secondary artists belonging to the generation of Giorgione. They were important painters but as compared with their great contemporaries not outstanding personalities. Men of this generation were influenced first by the older tradition "which was not displaced in Venice until about 1520" (Brown and Rankin), soon passing from this training, however, to become followers of Giorgione and Titian.

In the case of Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1556), other influences, as those of Raphael and Correggio, also affected his style, although he remained essentially "inventive and original." Important commissions which kept him busy during most of his life in provincial towns prevented him from being overshadowed by the later Venetians, and "he worked out a style of remarkably modern ease." He treated religious themes with great diversity. Strong sentiment and overcrowding sometimes give a florid effect to his ambitious altar-pieces; but often, especially in his early work, magnificent prelates, putti as lovely as those of Correggio, rich landscape or architectural forms surround a Virgin of noble and severe beauty. He shows great felicity in the naïve human touches with which he relieves the solemnity of grave and melancholy groups. Usually the hands are expressive as those of a great actor. Lotto painted allegorical themes as well, and in the "Triumph of Chastity" he produced an alluring vision which recalls Correggio although in the subordination of sensuous elements it is peculiarly his own. As a portrait painter Lotto was a subtle interpreter. The elegance and refinement of his models are entirely free from mannerism. Each is visualized as a complete interpretative conception. Beautiful examples are the Giorgionesque "Portrait of a Man" (Vienna), the "Portrait of an Architect" (Berlin), and the wonderful "Old Man" in the Brera. In all these he pictures in fullest measure the Renaissance types of his day.

Palma Vecchio (1480–1528) was born near Bergamo and added to the Venetian influences those of Lotto. He was one of the most important followers of Giorgione, but his best work has a rich splendour reflecting the preferences of a later period. This is especially well exemplified in the sante conversazioni, where the lines rise and fall in keeping with his opulent types. His ideal of feminine beauty appears at its best in the splendid full-length figure of "St. Barbara" (Santa Maria Famosa, Venice). She is radiant and exuberant—showing "his native robustness and sumptuousness." A fine example of portraiture is the "Poet" (National Gallery). The figure, dressed in shades of red-violet and blue-violet, stands in meditative mood before a background of laurels against which the light flesh tones are strongly marked.

The early work of Sebastian del Piombo (1485–1547) recaptures the spirit of Giorgione. The "Santa Conversazione" (San Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice) is a remarkable example of the imaginative style of the first years of the sixteenth century. The ease with which the loosely arranged figures are related, the variety of types, and the enhanced beauty resulting from slight differences of axis are brought to a consummation in the woman at the left. Both figures and landscape combine real and ideal elements with a joyous tranquillity of mood which is thoroughly characteristic. About 1510 Sebastian was called to Rome where he became the friend and admirer of Michelangelo. In his enthusiasm for the Florentine master he relinquished his birthright as a Venetian and henceforward he replaced the splendour of Venetian art by formal monumental composition. A comparison of his early and late work "gives us some idea of the personal influence of Michelangelo which could . . . impel a Venetian painter of such excellence to adopt a line of art so totally opposed to his original tendency" (Kugler). The finest achievement of his later period is the powerfully conceived "Pietà" of Viterbo in which he approaches more closely than any other artist the solemnity of Michelangelo. How completely he could become the academic painter is illustrated in the "Resurrection of Lazarus" (National Gallery). This is little more than a group of academic nudes. In sentiment, in composition, and in the use of black shadows, it is a product of the late Roman school. As a portrait painter Sebastian produced impressive canvases such as the "Christopher Columbus" (Metropolitan Museum) where the composition and the grave harmony

of neutral tones produce an impressive effect and set off the strength of the head.

One local school outside Venice produced a distinguished group of provincial painters. The peculiarly individual development of Renaissance ideals in the art of Brescia should be mentioned although as a school it was affected indirectly by Venetian example.

Savoldo (1480–1550) was influenced by Giovanni Bellini in Venice, but his compositional types were Brescian rather than Venetian. A broad somewhat grandiose arrangement is combined with individual figures of great simplicity. His masterpiece, the "Virgin and Saints" (Brera) has a stately grandeur peculiar to the school.

Romanino (1485–1566) also shows personal rendering of motives and colour derived from Venice which, however, were treated with a certain harshness by this provincial painter.

Moretto (1498–1554), in his religious paintings, was an artist of high creative ability. Venetian and local influences he wholly assimilated and wrought into a style of real distinction. His colour is neutralized so that there sometimes appears to be an almost tangible atmosphere, creating a tonal unity suggestive of tapestry. The "Pietà" (Metropolitan Museum) illustrates the deep emotional tone of his work. He sometimes introduces Baroque features but his solemnity and grandeur preserve him from sensationalism. Here he has placed the noble figure group in sumptuous but subdued colouring, against a distance in which cool tones suggest moonlight, the night effect according well with the sentiment of the picture.

Moroni (1525–1578) was a pupil of Moretto but as an artist was notable only as a portraitist. Like other Brescian painters he made a fine use of tonal harmonies generally choosing a neutral scheme of colour. His arrangements are always well designed, but having little imagination the poses are often awkward and meaningless. At his best, however, as in the "Tailor" (National Gallery) he produced dignified and beautiful portraits. A cool colour scheme suggesting certain Spanish painters of the seventeenth century gives unusual interest to the "Abbess" (Estate of Theodore M. Davis), which is also admirable in characterization. Moroni was the last representative of this interesting provincial school. He died one year later than Titian but he belonged to the same generation as Veronese for although Titian died so late in the sixteenth century his great age must not be forgotten.

He was born a year earlier than Giorgione and at a time when in Florence the careers of Botticelli and Ghirlandajo were just beginning. The conditions under which he was brought up and the ideas current in his day were therefore very different from those during the youth of Tintoretto and Veronese, who were born respectively in 1518 and 1528.

Profound changes in political history and in intellectual ideals took place during the first half of the sixteenth century. Active intellectual leadership was fast passing to the north, where the conscience of Europe had already found expression in the revolt of Luther from ecclesiastical dictation.

The endeavours of the Council of Trent to preserve the unity of Christendom occupied general attention in the middle of the century. By 1567–1573 the final struggle with Protestantism was nearing its end on the frontier of the Netherlands. It was a witness to the vitality of the artistic movement in Italy that it so long outlived the conditions which produced it, but the art of Tintoretto (1518–1592) and Veronese (1528–1588) lacks the universality of the Venetian masters of the preceding generation.

Turbulent and undisciplined as he is, the classic spirit is no longer the controlling factor with Tintoretto. He is a *Romanticist*, and the spirit of his art is allied to that of the great French Romanticists of the nineteenth century. His career opened at a period of transition in which adjustment was difficult and he seldom achieved a psychic distance which enabled him to see his work in true perspective. In struggling with the manifold problems and difficulties involved in his stupenduous tasks the maker of pictures sometimes eclipsed the artist.

He carried foreshortening to extravagant lengths, employing suspended manikins in order to master the difficulties of figures in flight. Light and shadow were used for the purpose of giving added reality to his figures and he sometimes forgot to consider the shape of the group or of the mass, so that his canvases often present a broken and disorderly appearance. "They offer a diaper of varied effects rather than organized construction." No doubt this characteristic is further accentuated at present by the fading and darkening of many of his pigments, which leave his canvases almost denuded of colour, a sooty black replacing his deep shades of blue and lake. In many of Tintoretto's paintings where the colour is preserved, there is a masterly play of soft cobalt blue and deep mulberry with pearly silver white.

The blue ripples through the length of the canvas, unifying the whole as did the gold of the earlier conventional colour scheme. A fine example is the sketch for "Paradise" in the Louvre.

At times he is able, in spite of naturalistic lighting, to create purely decorative effects. This is well illustrated in the enchanting small ceiling panels in the Prado. His use of light in landscape and his generalized handling suggest modern painting and his influence on later developments is more striking than his relation to his contemporaries.

There is little of interest in the circumstances of Tintoretto's life and we do not know with certainty who his master was, but his art gives unmistakable evidence of his debt to both Titian and Michelangelo, those leading personalities of the century, whose span of life so nearly coincided but whose art rang the changes from the exuberant to the profound. With eyes perhaps too constantly fixed on their attainments, Tintoretto failed, except in rare instances, to achieve the characteristic quality of either man. The exuberance of Titian was always expressed within the limits of a decorative convention. Too often by lack of conformity to law Tintoretto fails to satisfy the eye. Michelangelo's sense of significance, on the other hand, enabled him, even in his extravagant phases, to keep on the plane of high art conceptions that were perilously near to the Baroque, while Tintoretto's grandiose concepts and technical display more often than not took the place of profound feeling. This was especially the case in his extensive mural decorations, such as those of San Rocco, where with incredible virtuosity he produced some seventy pictures, dashing them off with somewhat the verve that is seen in the best Pompeian house-painting. A very different quality of genius from that which brooded over the prophetic paintings of the Sistine ceiling!

It is not necessary to see many examples nor to enter into the question of dates. There is development in Tintoretto's technique and there are changes in his conception, but the quality of the man remains the same. The energy which sometimes overwhelms him is almost always apparent, even when held in abeyance.

His characteristics are well illustrated in the "Last Judgment" in Santa Maria dell' Orto. Tintoretto was dealing with a space twice as high as it was wide. To compose in such a shape was a most difficult feat. In the upper part the limitations are evident, but the attention is riveted on the lower half, where the impetuous fury of his vision is impelling (Pl. 41A). The earlier painters

of the "Last Judgment"—or the *Last Things*—had intentionally avoided "localization." If the dead must be seen rising from their graves, a narrow strip of earth was given them, but the mind was not allowed to escape from the thought of the naked soul before its Judge. Michelangelo made no fundamental change; the introduction of the boat of Charon was merely incidental.

Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" had been painted a few years before, and Tintoretto may have known it by description, but his method is very different. Michelangelo's picture is dominated by the spirit of a vindictive judge. Tintoretto suggests the inevitable consequence of the working of natural law. This could not be mistaken for the work of any contemporary. Never before in the art of Italy was a natural phenomenon realized with such appalling force as this torrent sweeping everything before it. A boat, with a wonderful oarsman, shoots the cataract; human forms are hurled headlong, the surge of the water around the trees on the brink is about to uproot them. Tintoretto has visualized the divine event as coincident with the natural convulsion predicted by Scripture and the picture has the horror of a cataclysm of nature. Yet often in the most terrible passages Tintoretto preserved a wild beauty.

Without regard to chronological sequence, let us turn to the frescos in the Scuola of San Rocco, which Ruskin considered the central shrine of Venetian art, and Cox regarded as one of its most pitiable failures. The earliest work there is the greatest: the "Crucifixion," executed "at the very meridian of his professional career" (Pl. 41B). Tintoretto treated this subject several times but never with equal clarity of arrangement or greater majesty in the central figure. Although it is not primarily a devotional picture the arrangement is formal, the cross being placed on the vertical axis and a strong pyramidal group occupying the foreground. Historic incidents are shown, but Tintoretto has given us the "ideal rather than the material substance of this historical event." Osmaston's comparison with the Greek drama is suggestive, for we have here in the realistic treatment of the subordinate scenes—the preparation for the raising of the other crosses, etc.—incidents which, however reserved in treatment, occasion in us almost the same reaction as to physical pain felt in our own flesh. But these sensations never predominate, the note of triumph and beauty calls us back, as does the chorus of a Greek drama, to the essential meaning of the theme, to the central figure, "Whose arms to save us on the cross were spread."

In his general condemnation of the decorations of San Rocco Kenyon Cox includes the "Crucifixion" saying that it has all the faults of the Baroque. In this case the criticism seems severe, but to the pictures which followed year by year in the Scuola, it justly may be applied. The qualities of the Baroque are everywhere apparent. Moses striking the rock is an excellent example. His grandiose gesture suggests his impatience with a people continually discontent. The reviving flood bursts forth in great geyser-like streams, a dog rushes forward, and the people hold out their vessels. If only they would not throw themselves with such violent contortions. With what wonderful beauty and reserve Michelangelo made use of a similar motive in his "Brazen Serpent." Here may be compared the conceptions of Baroque and of Renaissance art.

Tintoretto was more successful in his smaller canvases. The "Miracle of the Slave" is allied to the preceding group. The story, briefly, recounts how a Christian slave who has too frequently left the city to worship is about to be tortured when suddenly St. Mark, descending from the heavens, intervenes. Splendid as the colour is, and astonishing as is the feat of foreshortening, it is the way the scene is painted that thrills us. Attention is rivetted upon the foreground figure; the painting of the body itself and of the accessories, the rope and the splintered sticks that were to have blinded him, is as rapid and deft as in Velazquez.

Tintoretto's romantic vein is delightfully shown in the "St. George and the Dragon." The action is animated. The untoward situation is staged against a strange greenish-blue sky broken by a sudden burst of white light. There is a glamour about the picture that suggests Giorgione's influence. It is quite fresh and spontaneous as if done with delight on the spur of the moment. The frenzied movement, the flash of colour, the turmoil, the emphasis on diagonals equilibrated by other diagonals, all foreshadow the methods of the following centuries.

Two paintings which show Tintoretto's finest qualities are the "Marriage at Cana" (Pl. 42B) and the "Martyrdom of St. Agnes" (Santa Maria dell' Orto).

The sunlight which streams into the actual room is scarcely more brilliant than that lighting the guests at Cana—a subject which at this time replaced the "Last Supper" as a refectory decoration. Golden and bronze tones are contrasted with pale blues and reds. Ruskin says, "It unites colour as rich

as Titian's with light and shade as forcible as Rembrandt's and far more decisive." Charming and animated figures about the table are brightly illuminated and one lovely woman leaning forward breaks through the formal line. The servants busying themselves with the filling of the water pots occupy the foreground, but the distant figure of Christ is dominant.

It is curious to compare Ruskin's words quoted above with Cox's comment on the "St. Agnes." "It is held together like a small Rembrandt," he says, "and has as much depth and luminosity and sense of values, with finer colour." The little saint shines out from the group of surrounding figures like a gleam of pure sunshine. Above, angels in headlong flight are grouped with others in more normal poses. It is comparable to the "Marriage" in beauty of lighting, colour, and female heads.

As a portrait painter Tintoretto showed an interest in the character of the individual model which brings his works near to our own day. An exceptionally fine example is the portrait of Vincenzo Morosini recently acquired by the National Gallery. It is astonishingly modern. The face is sombre and careworn. Note the sagging of the flesh about the eyes and its discolouration, the sunken spot on the cheek, the straggly beard. The robe is a sumptuous claret velvet broadly handled in two values. The gold brocade band over the shoulder looks embossed. A view from the window cut by the frame into a narrow panel is painted in thin opaque atmospheric blue over a darker undertone. It is a portrait of extraordinary power and modernity. Colour, handling, and sentiment carry the mind at once to El Greco; this is the point of departure for his exotic style (Pl. 39D).

The most purely beautiful works that Tintoretto produced are the four pictures for the Anticollegio of the Ducal Palace, executed the year after Titian's death, 1578. Tintoretto's type of beauty is singularly free from the sensuousness of Titian's mature period. His pagan figures have strong and full, but firm, bodies with no hint of the drowsy licentiousness that contemporary work often shows.

Cox most admires the "Pallas Driving away Mars." She has laid aside her armour to bathe in the water from a crystal bowl held by an attendant when Mars intrudes. The flesh is most simply painted and is seen in a brilliant light in which it seems to palpitate and glow with life. The foreshortening is without exaggeration and the figures accommodate themselves perfectly to the space and form together a beautifully rhythmic design. Cox says:

"Titian plus Correggio is as near to its formula as one can come, but there is much in it that is neither Titian nor Correggio, and which no one but Tintoretto could have done."

The "Bacchus and Ariadne" isolates for our delight one of those figures lightly poised on air which in the mazes of Tintoretto's larger compositions are obscured. How exhilarating is the buoyancy of line, and how wonderfully he has succeeded in placing the figures without the loss of an inch of space, and yet without crowding! In spite of their separation, the composition of mass is simple and easily seen. Originality is here combined with poetry of feeling, mellow harmony of colour, and wonderfully luminous shadows (Pl. 42c).

The remaining decorations in the Ducal Palace of his late period illustrate the decline of his art. There is something incalculable in Tintoretto's work which fluctuates from such beauty and restraint as he showed in the Anticollegio to what seem to be wilful extravagances. Cox is exasperated with him for doing things that are "downright bad" when he had such magnificent possibilities. But he belonged to the troubled period in which he lived. His tendency was as distinctly romantic as Giorgione's was lyric. Visions awful and tumultuous took hold of his imagination and demanded dramatic expression. The intensity of his feeling expressed in passionate movement, in exaggerated contrasts of light and shade, and in a disconnected pattern, is exhausting. But now and again he creates a masterpiece unexcelled. He rises above the turmoil and sees serenely, in the light of an inspiration "quietly burning before him."

Tintoretto's death in 1592, like that of Lorenzo the Magnificent a century earlier, marked the end of an epoch.

CHAPTER XXI

VERONESE AND THE ACADEMIC SCHOOLS

Verona produced a long line of important painters beginning with Altichieri and Pisanello and in the later fifteenth century including Liberale, Caroto, Morone, and Girolamo dai Libri. In the sixteenth century these artists mingled strong Venetian characteristics with the local type, but the most highly gifted of her sons became so completely identified with Venice that if it were not for his name we should be apt to forget that Paolo Veronese was Paolo Caliari of Verona (1528–1588).

One seems to breathe invigorating open air with the first example of Veronese's work of which Cox says, "There are no recondite allusions or strange ways of telling old stories; it is all straightforward, unaffected painter's work." During the years in which he practised his profession Veronese's work underwent slight change. He was not impelled to express inner visions and he was no seeker after novelty. He was contented to record without comment the gay exterior of life which showed no shadow cast by coming events. In this exteriority he contrasts with his great contemporaries. Veronese must be grouped with the descriptive or pageant painters, and whether the subject is an allegory or an ascent to Calvary, his method is the same—that of a superb decorator.

In contrast to earlier pageant painters his decorations were executed on a very large scale and it was the urbanity and splendour of Venetian ceremony that he celebrated rather than the incidents of everyday life such as Carpaccio chose. Veronese was past master in organizing every element in his composition (even to the curl of the dog's tail, Cox says). Perhaps because of his magnificent gift as a colourist, perhaps because his work has no deep significance, these methods never become offensive as in some of the late Florentines. He never strains for an effect and yet he never seems to miss it. Much importance attaches to his decorative *scheme* and after a little study it is possible to recognize his simple method of composition: variations of bilateral symmetry; the asymmetrical disposition consequent upon placing the prin-

cipal interest far to one side; or the schemes in which masses of light and shade form a pattern of opposition.

There is a great divergence of quality in the paintings attributed to Veronese, because he employed a number of assistants, first his brother and nephew, and later his sons as well as less gifted collaborators. The compositions, often the laying in of the whole, and perhaps the painting of the chief parts, were the work of the master, but sometimes the execution is dull and spiritless. This is never the case in Veronese's own work. He was a painter's painter and he was happiest when his brush was in his hand and he was creating magnificent spectacles with the free and assured touch of a master technician. He treated "colour as substance, as the material out of which the visible world is made, not as if it were only an application on the surface of matter as colour was regarded elsewhere in Italy."

His perfection as a decorator consisted in the close modulation of tone and the preservation of the colour planes practically unbroken. Cox says: "He never allows his light and shadow to break up the broad local colour of an object or to disguise its outline and there is never a space of obscurity in his picture." With him as with the primitives, the areas of colour form a pattern. The lighting is clearly demarked but lights are lowered, shadows lightened, and accidental breaks and variations subordinated. The highest projection is well within the frame. The people in his pictures appear as if behind a series of thin veils of middle value.

Veronese came to Venice just after the middle of the century and was active until the time of his death. He was employed by private patrons and was engaged on extensive decorations in the Ducal Palace. He was honoured with foreign commissions but when he was invited by Philip II. to work in the Escorial he sent a substitute in his place. From the character of his work we surmise that he took an active part in the gay life of his adopted city.

Among the most perfect decorative works ever painted are the magnificent canvases in Dresden executed for the Cuccina family. It is hardly possible to choose among the "Adoration of the Kings," the "Marriage at Cana," and the "Madonna with the Cuccina Family." Never was the "Adoration" (Pl. 43A) a more royal spectacle. The pageant is set forth in a long parallelogram. The Virgin, at the extreme left, has changed her social status since the days when Giotto painted her in peasant surround-

ings. In Venice of the sixteenth century she is an aristocrat. She numbers titled friends and elegant courtiers among her retainers. The aristocratic rendering is here at its height. But, as Cox says, it is wholesome and sincere. Veronese, like all great painters, expresses the attitude and thought of his age. The curve repeated three times at the left is sufficiently varied in the Virgin's complicated pose to prevent its becoming too obvious. Behind her is a temple podium to which has been added a timber shed for the beasts. Every part fits the pattern so perfectly that it is only after brick, marble, timber, and half barked wood are discovered that one realizes how the painter has subordinated them.

Brilliance of colour impresses one first: the turbaned negro heads against the sky; the vermilion capped and coated man brought against the beautiful head of the white horse; the gold, white, and black brocade of the kneeling king; the strawberry-coloured satin and velvet brocade of the standing one; the ermine and soft striped oriental silk of the negro; at the right a bit of dark green-blue sky and cloud. In the distance, miles away, below the grey horse's nose are the feeding flock and two shepherds in silvery light. The pattern of light and shade and the brilliant play of colour are subordinated to a general tone of indescribable beauty, richness, and harmony. At close range the swift, sure brushwork, the creative imagination in every touch, are thrilling. Notice the exquisite design of each king's gift, the superb types of manhood and womanhood, the perfect ease and freedom of execution, the absolute good taste throughout.

The "Marriage at Cana" shows the artist's astonishing facility for painting textures and his feeling for brilliance of effect. His esthetic perception enables him to keep the perfect quietness and reserve that he shows here. The by-play among the servants is delightful in itself but completely subordinated. Christ's head is brought into the centre of the composition and the miracle is recalled by his gaze fixed on the wineglass held by the foreground figure. Veronese's genre treatment of these stories opens one's eyes to a side of the subject matter which would naturally appeal more to his age than such interpretations as Leonardo gave. With Veronese it becomes the theme of a modern painter. Note the fine Italian type and the simple painting of the Virgin. Her identity is unmistakable as with quiet assurance she waits to hear what will be said. At the same time she is subordinated to Christ and to the bridal group which is superbly painted.

Osmaston contrasts this with the same subject by Tintoretto.

He considers the action of the figures very obvious in Veronese's treatment. It is certainly true that the miracle is the subject, the changing of water to wine, with no mystical allusions, whereas in the other picture the incident is more subordinate and the dominance of Christ more evident, whether or not we follow the subtlety of religious significance suggested by Osmaston. This is a splendid scene of contemporary life that happens to have a Biblical incident for subject matter. The "Madonna with the Cuccina Family" is equally beautiful. In this instance the portrait group enlists our special admiration.

In the horizontal panels so far studied, the space has been treated informally, the curves embracing large figure groups and leading by accentuated rhythm to the main interest. Veronese composes with a rising and falling line which gives stately movement to his groups or carries the eye easily from one part of the composition to the next. It is in this carefully planned arrangement that the eye delights even before it recognizes it. An example in which this movement is easily traced is the "Finding of Moses" in Dresden (Pl. 44A). In the centre the kneeling women display the child to Pharaoh's daughter and her attendants. The child is the centre of a spiral curve which embraces the main group and is then carried to the figures at the right, standing on a lower level, and swings back to the centre along the line of the soldier's halberd. The balance on the other side is preserved by the halberdier who leans nonchalantly against the bold tree trunk and with his weapon as a counteracting line forms a striking shape against the distance.

One may smile at the quaint concept of representing Egypt in this verdant landscape and Pharaoh's daughter with pointed bodice and brocaded drapery, but the design is supremely beautiful. All the parts have been studied with a feeling for ornamental form adapted to tapestry design; the foliated background at the left, the gorgeous figures of the women, the half grotesque motive of the dwarf with the dogs silhouetted boldly against the highest light. The spans of the great bridge of Verona appear in the distance, and along the river bank the swiftly running foster-mother approaches.

The picture is without deep meaning but it is conceived and painted with such artistry, every touch is so poignant with joy, that we may agree with Emerson,

> If eyes were meant for seeing
> Then Beauty is its own excuse for being.

In the following example we may see Veronese's treatment of composition on a symmetrical basis. The "Feast in the House of Levi" (Pl. 43B) in the Academy Venice shows an open portico perfectly appointed for the beautiful and impressive staging of the figures. The area is divided vertically by two columns rising through the entire height. Columns of a smaller order support the arches whose crowns touch the line of the frame. Horizontal divisions are formed by the impost mouldings of the arches and by the table line, continued in the parapets at right and left. The line of the railing of the staircases which ascend from each corner, if continued, would meet just above the head of Christ. The approach to the central area alone is unobstructed, the design of the tessellated pavement draws the eye in. The loggia is not deep and the planes of the outer and inner arched openings, seen in perspective, make patterns of light and dark against the luminous distance.

The figures stretch like a garland across the lower section. The silhouette rises and falls with more or less freedom, but in front of the main verticals stand two figures, larger because in the foreground, that elevate the line to its highest point that it may sink again to the central head. The groups are full of movement, giving an impression of animated conversation. In the immediate foreground orders are being issued and messengers are passing to and fro. It is essentially the work of a decorator dealing in large spaces, minimizing depth and accentuating breadth and amplitude.

The picture was painted about 1573 for SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The secularization seemed extreme even to the people of Veronese's day and he was summoned before the Inquisition to tell what excuse he had to offer for introducing "these men dressed in the German style and carrying halberds."

In another feast, that in the "Marriage at Cana" (1562) in the Louvre (Pl. 44B), a much more complicated problem was solved by the same decorative method. It seems perhaps at first sight that no very great science was employed here. Everything appears so natural and one so easily sees that which the painter intended to show that we do not ask why. Cox, in his fine essay on Veronese, has given a diagram to show the complete interdependence of the curvilinear scheme pivoting upon the head of Christ. At this point the lines are held together as we might hold in the hand a series of hoops, graduated in size and changing in shape from a circle to a broad ellipse. Such lines

form the anatomy for the pattern of guests. In the upper part of the picture the architecture and the spectators follow lines which in a similar manner focus upon the head of Christ. This is the central figure, but a figure comparatively small in size because of his position in the middle distance. There is a play of light and shadow through the picture but it is so subordinated to the effect of colour that only by an almost painful effort can we trace its logical pattern. This flattens the picture. The figures are seen through a haze of colour. No actual scene could reach such closeness of tone relation unless it were seen through screens of coloured gauze. The lower half of the canvas is a value a little below middle tone.

To make an analysis of the colour scheme would be impossible, and yet with all its variations it has a certain large simplicity. It is the kind of day we know in America, with a sky of a certain mellow greyness that sends it leagues away, and great warm silver clouds all transparent luminousness, which suddenly veil the sun but leave the earth smiling and expectant, on tiptoe for its return. This silvery shimmer of light unites the painting. The clouds and architecture are of related tones, passing through warm silver to neutral oranges, and as a final cadence into the middle value of the shaded buildings on the right. The blue of the sky may almost be duplicated by looking through amber-toned glasses straight up into the zenith on a September day. This colour in a lower value and slightly more intense quality (old-blue) is spotted through the whole figure group. The greens are so nearly of the same value and intensity that one does not separate them. Vibrating with these cool colours is a play of modulated crimsons passing in an enharmonic scale from shell-pinks and gold through oranges, crimson, and rose to terra-cottas and splendid red-violet.

The feast was a favourite subject with Veronese and an entirely different type is shown in the next example considered by many his masterpiece, the "Supper at Emmaus." As a conception this differs completely from the tradition by the inclusion of portraits of the donor's family, but the conception is a perfectly legitimate one, for these reverent on-lookers are those whose eyes had been opened and who "knew Him in the breaking of bread." The central group is arranged to fill a circle. The head of Christ is not exactly in the centre but is framed against the doorway. The Apostles are "arranged" and are unconvincing, but the Christ is fine. The table is set in an open loggia, at the left

(*A*) Veronese. Adoration of the Kings. Dresden. (Alinari)

(*B*) Veronese. Feast in the House of Levi. Academy, Venice. (Naya)

(*C*) Annibale Carracci. Bacchus and Ariadne. Farnese Palace, Rome. (Alinari)

(*A*) Veronese. Finding of Moses. Dresden. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Veronese. Marriage at Cana. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

we see the three figures approaching, in the background the Roman theatre at Verona is introduced.

No one up to this time had made a full study of children. Veronese shows us all ages, from the sprightly baby to the shy boy emerging from his mother's drapery, losing his self-consciousness when he sees the puppy struggling in his brother's arms. The immediate foreground is filled with a group of enchanting beauty magnificently painted—two children playing with a dog. No one has better perpetuated the grace and artlessness of childhood.

Especial mention should be made of the artist's secular decorations, such exuberant groups as fill the walls of the Villa Masèr and the ceiling decorations in the Hall of the Grand Council, Ducal Palace, where in an immense area he shows the "Enthronement and Coronation of Venice" surrounded by the splendour of marble architecture and attended by throngs of figures in magnificent attire. Decorators of successive ages have sought inspiration in the study of these works.

As an emotionally expressive artist touching life at all points Veronese falls short. He designs with perfect and beautiful forms, but he does not penetrate deeply nor often touch the imagination or sympathies. Cox says: "He was a great, frank, healthy, broad-minded, tender spirit," and "the completest master in the art of painting that has ever lived." Although the immediate followers and pupils of Veronese are unimportant, few great decorators since the sixteenth century have been free from indebtedness to this great master.

Before leaving the Venetian school, mention should be made of a group of painters in a neighbouring vicinity, developing under Venetian influence. The artistic activity of the family known as the Bassani extended from about 1500 until 1623. The most gifted of these painters was Jacopo da Ponte (1510–1592), who lived and worked in Bassano, but whose art belonged to the Venetian tradition and was not recast in a provincial mould. He was formed under the influence of Titian, but his figure style shows traits derived from Tintoretto, and his skies suggest Veronese. Jacopo's interest in naturalism led to a genre treatment of religious scenes, and to a landscape inspired by local surroundings rich in pictorial motives. The long twilights of this mountainous region led to a sombre tonal harmony of great beauty (Kugler). "Jacopo's art was original and shows no sign of decadence" (Rankin). His death and that of Tintoretto which occurred in

the same year, 1592, marked the end of the Renaissance in Venice. At the same time Italian painting, which was destined to exercise such an important influence on European schools of the succeeding century, was crystallizing as a definite tradition.

Before turning our attention to this subject, however, it may be well to anticipate later movements in order to complete the history of Venetian painting. A period of exhaustion lasting about a hundred years followed the death of Tintoretto, but in the eighteenth century the city once more boasted a great decorator, Tiepolo (1692–1770), who with facile and prolific brush adorned churches and private villas with splendid works. He was one of the last great masters of the technique of fresco painting and achieved the most difficult feats without apparent effort. With amazing facility and exuberance he revives the types of Veronese. His emotional and theatrical treatment is given charm by the harmonious range of colours and the permeating effects of light. In 1762 as an old man Tiepolo accepted a call to Spain, where he executed numerous works before his death in 1770.

The actual appearance of the "City of the Lagoons" was at the same time the inspiration of the charming art of Canaletto (1697–1768) and his follower Guardi (1712–1793) whose pictures in spite of reserved colours are strong in effects of brilliant open-air light. Guardi died two hundred years after Tintoretto—thus through the changes of more than three centuries Venetian painters remained true to the peculiar type of beauty which was their local heritage. Their art was never intellectual or pedantic, they remained a school of painters and their influence is still a living force. A very different spirit was manifested in the academic movement of the sixteenth century to which we must now turn back.

During the greater part of the sixteenth century Venice alone had shown invention and virility. Elsewhere a sudden collapse, dating from about 1530, ushered in a period of some fifty years during which time industry took the place of invention, and men endeavoured to repeat the successes of the great masters by imitating them, while they prided themselves on rapidity of execution. "No one remembered that the foundations of all artistic greatness depended on the mysterious harmony between the personality of the painter and his subject" (Kugler). Local schools at this time were merged in general movements, of which those of the mannerists, the eclectics, and the naturalists are important. The mannerists centring in Florence already have

been mentioned. The eclectics and naturalists constituted the opposition to this lifeless style.

The eclectics attempted to revivify painting by uniting the excellences of the great masters, thus carrying a step farther the attempt of Tintoretto to combine the drawing of Michelangelo with the colour of Titian. A saving sense of naturalism redeemed the work of the more able painters and gave it reality and life. We shall make a just estimate of the work produced at the end of the century only if we realize that, as compared with what immediately preceded, it represented a renovation of the principles and practices of art. We take little interest today in this phase of painting, but it cannot be neglected altogether if we are to understand the relation of later schools to the Italian tradition and to appreciate the continuity of European painting.

As the inventive faculty weakened, men scrutinized the past and sought to recover the secret of its greatness. They began to analyse and codify, to philosophize and instruct. Eclecticism was the inevitable result of this attitude toward the past of which the formation of academies of art was another symptom. In 1561 Vasari organized an academy of drawing in Florence, in 1583 the Carracci family opened their academy in Bologna, which was not the earliest established there but which was the most highly developed, and in 1595 Zucchero founded the Academy of St. Luke in Rome. Such institutions gave a scholastic direction to the practice of painting greatly at variance with the method fostered almost unconsciously by the bottega system. In the perspective of history this period takes its place as an interlude barren of important personalities, but in their own day the painters were believed to be in no way inferior to their predecessors. One of the typical figures is Baroccio (1528–1612), who was born in Urbino and who spent most of his life there although he is classed with the Roman school. Baroccio was regarded by his contemporaries as the greatest painter of his day; he exercised a wide influence and was honoured by invitations from several foreign rulers.

Baroccio was the great representative of the Jesuitical style of the Counter-Reformation (Lemonnier), and his work was largely confined to religious subjects. He derived his strongest impulse from Correggio, playing endless variations on the master's theme of feminine loveliness and smiling childhood. But his affinities are with the eighteenth century; his groups suggest Boucher, his colour Tiepolo, and his sentiment for the people is

comparable to Murillo's. Skill in arrangement, modern popular sentiment, and an original gamut of colour, give his work value in spite of trivial lightness and sentimentality. He "appeared as the renovator of Christian art according to the formula of the Council of Trent," a distinction also claimed for the religious pictures painted by the Carracci—who, however, were more important for the stamp that they gave to secular decoration.

The Carracci were the great representatives of the school of Bologna and the eclecticism and formal excellence of their composition were qualities which had marked the school from the time of Francia. An unbroken line of Bolognese painters connects his school with the artists of the end of the century. Enthusiastic admiration was accorded to Raphael for his perfect solution of the decorator's problem. It was by a Bolognese painter, Primaticcio (1504–1570), a pupil of Giulio Romano, that this tradition in an attenuated form was carried to France (Fontainebleau school). Tibaldi (c. 1527–1596), architect and painter, established the type of secular and religious pictures on which most later work was modelled. Like Primaticcio he was called to a foreign court, spending nine years in Spain engaged in the decoration of the Escorial. In the academy of Tibaldi in Bologna, Agostino and Annibale Carracci received their training. About 1584 these younger painters were associated with their cousin Ludovico and began collaborative work. In the following year they established the academy already mentioned. This was not merely a school of drawing and painting but so highly organized an institution that it is spoken of by Rouchès as the embryo of the École des Beaux Arts.

Extensive collections of rare books and antiques were assembled here for the use of pupils to whose training conscientious attention was given. Ludovico, the oldest, was the director; Annibale, the most talented, gave practical instruction in drawing, painting, and composition; and Agostino, the most cultivated member of the group, was the lecturer. As in a modern art school the study of anatomy was demonstrated by the use of a nude model, and instruction was also given in the history and theory of painting. Agostino's encyclopedic knowledge drew to the academy men of learning in various lines. The influence of such an institution at this particular epoch was widespread and many painters highly regarded in the last years of the sixteenth century were trained in this school.

The responsibilities of the academy were not permitted to

interfere with professional work, however. Commissions were accepted by the three painters and carried out in collaboration. Motives suggested by Correggio, Veronese, and Tibaldi furnished the basis for an art suited to secular decoration. The experience of these years was of great value to Annibale Carracci, who in 1595 was chosen to decorate the Farnese Palace in Rome. This was a decoration of vast dimensions for which the painter made numerous preparatory sketches. The subjects were mythological, the triumph of carnal love being the general theme (Pl. 43c). The influences of Correggio and Tibaldi apparent in earlier work were here superseded by the study of Michelangelo, and the scheme finally chosen was based on the Sistine ceiling. The emphasis on architectural subdivisions, the variety and invention in decorative details, and the elaboration of ornament in stucco are the chief elements of success. Herms, putti, and nude youths adorn the frieze. The latter are derived from Michelangelo and adapted with great ingenuity to their changed environment. Individual scenes, especially the central panel of "Bacchus and Ariadne," exhibit excellent draughtsmanship and perfected science of composition, while in numerous details Annibale shows naturalistic tendencies. This instinct for naturalism is insisted upon by Rouchès, who says that the Carracci had a sentiment for nature lost during the High Renaissance except in certain Venetian painters. Annibale was assisted for a short period by Agostino; later, Domenichino, the most able pupil of the Academy of the Carracci, collaborated with him. The Farnese decoration was the inspiration of similar schemes in Italy and to the painters of France in the next century is furnished a prototype of inestimable value. For this reason it is an important link in the evolution of painting.

The sentiment for nature characterizing all Annibale's work gave charm to those pictures in which figures of a small scale are represented in landscape setting, as the "Flight into Egypt" (Doria Gallery). Annibale here mingled influences derived from Venetian and from Flemish sources. His beautiful landscapes furnish fruitful suggestion in the following century to the French painters Poussin and Claude. The traditions of the Carracci school both in figure compositions and landscape were perpetuated in the painting of Domenichino (1581–1641), while Guido Reni (1575–1642) showed the influence both of eclectic and naturalistic tendencies.

Annibale, Domenichino, and Guido Reni had at various times

received commissions in Naples and all had been terrorized and persecuted there, for it was in the Neapolitan school only that the Bolognese eclectics met any strong opposition. The group of rival painters endorsing an opposed theory of art were headed by the violent champion of naturalism, Caravaggio (1569–1609). In the case of Caravaggio the word naturalism may be interpreted as in literature to designate a style in which no effort is made to avoid vulgarity or to suggest an ideal aspect. The painter lacks subtlety altogether and on this account his most successful works are those depicting scenes from everyday life. Excellent draughtsmanship, masculine vigour, and forced illumination against a dark ground are devoted to the expression of strong human passions. Caravaggio's painting exhibits the qualities illustrated in his violent and turbulent career. His closest follower was the Spanish painter Ribera, who as a resident of Naples was known as Lo Spagnoletto.

Later representatives of the eclectic and naturalistic schools adapted their art to the altered conditions of their day. As the period of decadence in Italy progressed artistic production kept pace with the demand for melodramatic representation and seductive types. In their origin violently antagonistic the two artistic currents gradually converged and it was from their union that European art of the seventeenth century was born (Rouchès).

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CHAPTER XXII

EARLY FLEMISH PAINTING: THE VAN EYCK BROTHERS

In Italy even the casual observer, if he is sufficiently interested, can discern for himself the steps in the evolution of the school during three centuries. The mass of material in every town tells the same story of consistent aims and gradual development. But this is not true in the Netherlands. The traveller, even though he be primarily interested in art, may spend a summer in the Low Countries without gaining any understanding of the school. Before the masterpiece of Flemish painting, the many-panelled altarpiece of the van Eyck brothers in Ghent (finished 1432), he stands confused, and it is not surprising if his thought runs somewhat as follows: "This work is inexplicable. It is a complete and finished thing, and could not be developed further. Perfection of rendering is combined with an original conception and an accomplished sense of colour. It shows remarkable characterization in portraiture, fine composition, an understanding of scale in the combination of figures of various sizes, magnificent rendering of texture, painting of interior not developed further in the Dutch school of the seventeenth century, and landscape unequalled in Italian painting until fifty years later. All this without anything to lead up to it! If this work had antecedents where may its evolution be traced? Where may we go back to find the Cimabue of this school?"

Answers to these questions are difficult to give—they involve the complexities of political history. The great Gothic development of western Europe was an outgrowth of feudal conditions which survived long after the humanistic movement of Italy was inaugurated. Although the University of Paris, taking form late in the thirteenth century, was one of the earliest in Europe, the first university to be established in the Netherlands, that of Louvain, was not incorporated until 1423. During the fourteenth century, with some intervals, Flanders was a French dependency. Artists seeking employment flocked to Paris, there to some extent to lose their identity among a throng of painters attracted from all parts of Europe by the enlightened patronage of the Valois.

Italian influence affected French painting as a result of the presence of Simone Martini and his followers at Avignon. The consequent mingling of styles is evident in what is sometimes called the International school. For these reasons the beginning of Flemish art is obscure, much of the best work is identified with the country where it was produced rather than with the nationality of the author. By the beginning of the fifteenth century Paris had lost its supremacy and the Dukes of Burgundy, partly by right, partly by force and treachery, had already established their dominion in the Netherlands. Henceforward Flemish painters worked at home.

During many centuries the art of illumination was most highly prized in France and a succession of magnificent manuscripts mark the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The history of western painting is involved with study of the art of illumination, examples of which are not as a rule easily accessible or displayed in such a way that the traveller realizes their importance. Instead they are hidden away in choice and comparatively inaccessible volumes. Yet it is in these that the gradual emergence of the naturalistic style of the fifteenth century culminating in the Ghent altar-piece must be traced. The realism which astonishes us in this great picture appears in these earlier illuminations, modified by the "delicacy and sense of measure" fostered in Paris. After 1370 (Conway) the more symbolic and fanciful French style gave place to naturalism, and both in tapestry and in illumination there began to appear "a new vitality, a refreshing ugliness" which was the contribution of painters of Flemish birth. Among the most famous illuminations which survive are those of the "Très Riches Heures" of the Duke of Berry, brother of the French king, at Chantilly. These were executed by Pol de Limbourg and his brothers, painters from the north who, early in life, were established in France.

Durrieu records the innovations which mark these illuminations as belonging to the new age; dogmatism is gone, and in its place appear individual portraiture, knowledge of perspective, ample horizons, and effects of light like those of nature—in a word, modern painting. The aristocratic and romantic charm of certain groups, the realism shown in the hunt or in field labour, and the delight in landscape as a pictorial motive, became permanent characteristics of the Netherlandish school.

In the Trivulzio collection in Milan are pages from another series of illuminations executed apparently by several different

painters at a slightly later date (after 1416). The extraordinary excellence of certain pages has led to their attribution, with some dissenting voices, to Hubert van Eyck himself as the only painter capable of such mastery. The page decorated with the "Birth of John the Baptist" and the "Baptism of Christ" is a marvel of perfection. The Baptism is set in a landscape in which the painter's perception of beauty in nature is apparent. When the detail is magnified more than a hundred times in a lantern projection, the pictorial unity is unimpaired and one may marvel at the admirable knowledge which enabled the artist to draw the windings of the river and so perfectly to suggest distance. This landscape excels all contemporary productions. The work illustrates the same tradition as that of the Limbourgs, whose art points backward to a long succession of illuminators.

The evolution of panel painting is more obscure. There is not adequate material for the reconstruction of any connected account until, at the close of the fourteenth century, under the patronage of the Burgundian dukes, painting was "cultivated as a real art." The leading artists at this time, Jean Malouel, followed by Henri Bellechose and Melchior Broederlam, although of northern birth, are regarded as French painters, and the first conspicuous example of Flemish painting is the Ghent altar-piece finished in 1432 (Pl. 45A and B).

The Ghent altar-piece is one of those complete monuments which, in spite of its small size may be compared in importance to contemporary mural decorations in Italy. The twelve panels of the opened reredos display matchless brilliance of colour. Against their gold ground the three central figures flash and glow—deep blue, intense clear cardinal, pea-pod green. These colours varied with accents of black, are repeated in small areas in the musician panels. In the lower tier warm indefinable tones are varied by gay parti-coloured groupings, contrasting with the verdant but deep green of the wooded background. The horizon is sharply silhouetted against white light which passes rather suddenly into the blue of the zenith. When the hinged panels are closed, an umber tone predominates, with the donors, dressed in vermilion and deep wine, as the only brilliant notes on the exterior.

The different scenes embraced in the altar-piece, for which the motives are derived from the office for All Saints' Day, are unified by the thought of sin and redemption. Adam and Eve, the Annunciation, historic witnesses, and portraits of donors all

take their logical place in relation to the sacrificial altar, presided over by the heavenly hierarchy. The central figure, identified either as the Almighty, or as Christ, represents eternal majesty. The conception is based on Byzantine prototypes modified by the influence of contemporary representations in the mystery plays. Christ wears the triple papal crown and holds the gold and crystal sceptre of an emperor. On his robe, partly in Greek characters, is embroidered "King of Kings," while on the hanging that forms the background is figured the pelican feeding her young from her breast—for he is both Creator and Redeemer. Conway translates the inscription beneath his feet:

> In His hand life without death,
> On His forehead youth without age,
> Joy without sorrow, on His right hand,
> Security without fear, on His left.

While full advantage has been taken of the impressiveness of the archaic pose, the execution combines an almost flawless perfection in the rendering of every detail with colour unexcelled in its brilliance. The conception is traditional, the technique, highly developed.

The Virgin at the left sits with downcast eyes reading her breviary. Flemish features are well illustrated in the high round forehead, the heavy lidded eyes which are not pushed back into the sockets as in the Italian skull, the large nostrils, and the lack of emphasis on the line of the jaw-bone: this, with the high cheek-bones, gives the face a certain flatness. Over her shoulders fall the soft rippling masses of hair which the Flemish painter treated with delight in its texture and its response to the light. She wears a crown composed of lilies and stars over her fine-spun hair to symbolize "the circlet of the law binding the will" (Conway).

John the Baptist is no ascetic as in Italy. He seems like a Samson peering mysteriously through his lion-like mane. The light strikes his mantle and brings out the angular construction and the complexity of the folds. Behind each figure is a recessed semicircular niche ornamented with an inscription.

At either side are angel panels, at the left a group of singers, at the right an orchestra. For the usual garb of angels which, as Mâle says, "seemed the vesture of eternal life," ecclesiastical vestments have been substituted. "They are dressed like young acolytes serving at a mass without end." Almost contemporary

with these singers are the Italian choristers on Luca della Robbia's gallery who sing their praises as lustily as these and perhaps a little more harmoniously. In the orchestral group at the right the faces show a rare wistfulness and charm. The colour is thrillingly beautiful. The metallic lustre of the silver organ pipes, with lines of black shadow, enhances the delicacy of the flesh tones. The black and gold brocade of the foreground figure is unrivalled in splendour of texture. In the shadow the gold turns to tawny bronze and copper.

In the main panel all interest centres about the altar, seen free of obstruction in the centre of the field. Here the lamb as a symbol of Christ is exalted. The painter would have done wisely to retain the early Christian symbol of the Agnus Dei: Flemish love of naturalism has led him to substitute a very real and very woolly lamb, difficult to accept as a symbol. Swinging censers, making music, or displaying the instruments of the passion, a bevy of angels hovers like moths around the altar. In the immediate foreground stands a Fountain of Life about which the kneeling Apostles are massed in a crescent. Ecclesiastics and philosophers press forward from each side. From the "wings" of the middle stage two groups approach the altar, on the left a body of church dignitaries, on the right a band of delicate and gracious virgins carrying the palms of martyrdom. The landscape background is common to the whole lower tier of pictures.

On the right of the central panel hermits and pilgrims advance, the latter led by the colossal figure of St. Christopher. Their lives evidently have been spent far from the courtly luxury suggested on the opposite side, where knights and judges symbolize the active life. This company of courtiers on horseback with banners unfurled suggests the courtly surroundings to which the painters were accustomed. Among them are portrait studies of extraordinary power and beauty, some comparable to those of Holbein and Dürer. Tradition has chosen one of the just judges as a portrait of Jan van Eyck. The characterization of the alert and sensitive face is a marvel; one has to search late in fifteenth century Italian painting for anything comparable. A similar interest attaches to the "supposed portrait of Hubert" in the foreground of the same picture, a cultivated man of the world in strongest contrast of feature and attitude to the profile behind him.

The remaining panels, representing Adam and Eve, repel us by their uncompromising realism. Taine may well have had such

figures in his mind when, in discussing the Germanic instinct, he says, "it leads them . . . to remove mystery . . . not to eliminate or withhold any detail even when vulgar or unsightly." The figures show painstaking and laborious study. Rendering has become an end in itself. The artist has nothing of a deeper significance to suggest. He is unconscious of the dynamic potentialities of the human figure. Yet already the Italian painter Masaccio in his "Expulsion" had recognized the full import of this subject-matter. He knew far less about anatomy, but far more about art than his northern contemporary (Pl. 12B and Pl. 9B).

On the exterior the "Annunciation" occupies four compartments. The low-ceiled room, spacious and almost unadorned, looks out pleasantly through medieval mullioned windows on a distance brilliantly illuminated by real light. They command one of the earliest views of an actual street. In the inner chamber, beyond the Virgin, the bright sunlight casts patterns on the wall. Such an effect, in its truthful rendering of tone and atmosphere, suggests the work of Dutchmen of the seventeenth century. The figures themselves are in keeping with the virgin aspect of the room. The angel shows a gentle deference combining "sweetness and respect." Movement is suggested in spite of the voluminous drapery, which bears no relation to the body beneath and has little beauty of design in itself. The folds of the Virgin's robe fall about her in jagged and angular shapes and she appears to be so encumbered that she turns with difficulty towards the angel.

The donors are remarkable in truth of interpretation, especially the somewhat phlegmatic Josse Vydt. Although there is no attempt to do more than render the outer man, that is done so faithfully that it becomes an interpretation. It would be interesting to make a detailed comparison with such contemporary Italian portraits as those introduced by Masaccio in the "Trinity."

In the small compass of this altar-piece, the range, ideals, and skill of the Flemish painter are typically illustrated. A comparison with Italian painting might be summarized under technique, conception, and delineation.

The van Eycks have popularly been called the inventors of oil painting. This is not the case. Cennino Cennini, describing the processes familiar to Italian painters in the early fifteenth century, gives numerous directions as to the preparation and treatment of oil. But that some notable improvement in its use was due to the van Eycks is certain. An exact chemical analysis is yet to prove in what this consisted. The method of execution and the resulting

brilliance of effect recall transparent enamels. After completely drawing and modelling the picture in monotone (see unfinished "St. Barbara," Antwerp), the pigment was used almost as a glaze and splendid force and clarity of colour resulted. The craftsmanship of the Flemish panel painters was evolved to the highest point of perfection. The Italian, by preference a fresco painter, had trained neither eye nor hand to such mastery, and when work of this kind was required, Italian patrons were glad to employ artists from the north.

In devotional painting the iconography of the Middle Ages persisted, but the interpretation was that of a literal-minded people. For the Flemish painter, fact was truth; for the Italian of the Renaissance beauty was truth. In treating the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Flemish painter was punctiliously exact in depicting an infant a few hours old; the Italians disregarded altogether the fact that the shepherds visited him on the night of his birth and represented the Child as a sturdy infant of two months' growth. The Flemish painter was still primarily the church painter. His innovations consisted in bringing his matter-of-fact mind to bear upon themes which were still traditional. The Italians in the meantime were undertaking studies calculated to overthrow medieval conceptions, while their range of subjects broadened in response to secular patronage. It is significant that the earliest university to be established in the Netherlands was not incorporated until 1423. The interests of the country were industrial rather than cultural.

Although the naturalistic revival of the fifteenth century in the north is identified by some authors with the Renaissance, the term if applied here does not signify that great widening of horizons, culture, and liberation of thought by which the movement was characterized in Italy. Nor in art was the new attitude towards the body apparent which viewed it primarily as the perfect type of beauty. The force of these Renaissance ideals was felt only at the close of the century as a result of Italian influence.

The human figure was the chief material of pictorial art both north and south. When we compare Flemish draughtsmanship with Italian, the difference in expressive power is surprising. Flemish drawings are often untrue and unlovely in proportion, movement is awkward and abrupt, and in consequence subtle shades of feeling are lost. Successful expression of movement by the Italian painters was due, perhaps partly, to the southern habit of expressing feeling by gesture as naturally as by speech. But

something guided them to make a wise and beautiful use of this natural characteristic. This was their classic inheritance. While it fostered democracy, inspired poets, formed ideals of education, manners, and conduct, the classic tradition also furnished a kind of selective glass through which the visible world was made to conform in some degree to an ideal type. With the first awakening from Byzantine convention the Italian painter had to look around him for forms more expressive than medieval ones, forms capable of conveying life. These he found in the works of classic sculpture. From a crudity greater than that in western Europe, Italy rapidly advanced to a heightened sense of the beauty of the human figure. Naturalistic studies were pursued, but the artist never wholly lost sight of the idealism which came to him as a natural heritage.

Fifteenth century painters in the north continued the work of the Gothic carvers. For both, the use of the nude figure was almost entirely restricted to scenes of martyrdom. Its purpose was symbolic, the observer was meant to look not at the physical form but through it. The body was used to convey an idea without regard to beauty. The small bones, narrow shoulders, meagre forms, and ill-shapen feet showed lack of regard for any canon of proportion. Similar figures served as manikins on which to hang the heavy inorganic draperies of the religious characters or the costume of the Burgundian court, which bore as little relation to anatomical form. Elements of a representative rather than a decorative style were accentuated. The silhouette was often awkward and grouping inorganic, but the modulation of colour in its different planes was well understood. Play of light from a definite source enhanced the naturalistic appearance and gave the picture depth. On this account Flemish painting appears more modern than contemporary Italian painting. The improved medium enabled the painters more closely to approximate the precise effect of light and to reproduce texture and minutiae as never before. Landscape was given greater attention and is a fascinating study throughout the fifteenth century. The varied detail introduced is often reminiscent of the art of the miniaturist. Usually the breadth and generalization of the Italian fresco painters is lacking. The small size of Flemish pictures no doubt was conducive to a detailed execution. The characteristics here summarized are typical of the school as a whole.

The Ghent altar-piece was the joint work of the brothers Hubert (1370[?]–1426) and Jan van Eyck (1385[?]–1441), as we learn from the inscription on the picture itself. "The painter Hubert van

Eyck, the greatest painter to be found, commenced this great work, which Jan his brother, the second in his art, finished (achieved) at the instance of Josse Vydt. This verse certifies that the 6 day of May 1432 the finished work was exhibited."

Little is known of the older painter but there are numerous records of Jan, who was in succession employed by William of Bavaria and Philip of Burgundy. The inscription proves that the picture is not entirely from Hubert's hand, but it gives no clue as to the parts completed by Jan and opinions vary in regard to attribution. The central panels are assumed to be by Hubert while Adam and Eve generally are attributed to Jan.

Unsigned paintings belonging to the school of the van Eycks have been attributed sometimes to Hubert, sometimes to Jan. One of the most important is "The Virgin and the Chancellor Rolin" of the Louvre (Pl. 46c). This is a small picture in which the Virgin and Child are seated at the right and the donor kneels at the left. A three-aisled Romanesque hall with arcades opening on a garden and distant river landscape forms the setting. The picture is in an extraordinary state of preservation, in no part obscure in spite of the depth of shadow. Characteristic of the van Eycks is the orange-cardinal dress of the Virgin and the deep green-blue of the tiny angel. The prayer desk is covered with a fabric of peacock blue and the Chancellor wears a brocade of raisin brown and gold, a colour combination repeated in the dark squares of the inlaid pavement. The interior of the room is a transparent raw umber tone against the Claude-like clearness of the sky and mountains. The sky at the horizon is pale orange flushed with pink, reflected in the river. Every object in the distance is clear and jewel-like. At the left is a red-roofed town; at the right, a city with a cathedral and many churches; pin-point figures cross the bridge, and Kate Greenaway hills with trees are seen beyond. Under the magnifying glass even the tiny figures show complete delineation. The painting has the perfection of a miniature. Charming use is made here and elsewhere of the ornament of medieval architecture and the legends carved on capital or throne are executed with devoted care. Such minutiae would be disturbing except for the mastery of values by which every part is kept in perfect correlation.

This same mastery is delightfully illustrated in the little picture of the "Virgin and Child in a Church" in Berlin. Not more than twelve inches high, it also has the perfection of an illumination. Van Eyck has given the encircling gloom of a church interior, the sunlight pouring through a doorway and flickering across the

(*A*) Hubert and Jan van Eyck. Panels of Altar-piece. Cathedral of St. Bavon, Ghent.
(© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Hubert and Jan van Eyck. Adoration of the Lamb. Central panel of the Altar-piece, Cathedral of St. Bavon, Ghent. (Bruckmann)

(*A*) Jan van Eyck. Portrait Cardinal Albergati. Vienna. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Petrus Christus. St. Eligius. Philip Lehman Collection, New York

(*C*) Ascribed to Hubert van Eyck. The Virgin and the Chancellor Rolin. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

pavement. The interior ornaments and carving of the Gothic church are like beautiful goldsmiths' work. The Virgin for whom this is a miniature setting is not isolated, but closely related to the background. Her under-dress is deep crimson, and her mantle peacock blue. There are brilliant jewels in her crown, and the angels singing before the altar are equally gem-like.

Numerous panels signed by Jan reveal a somewhat narrow and literal mind and less sensitiveness to beauty than is shown in the Ghent altar-piece. The "Madonna of the Canon van der Paele" is one of his most celebrated altar-pieces. It is a thoroughly characteristic Flemish painting, atoning in its splendour of colour and surface for the bitter ugliness of the canon's portrait, delineated with unsparing realism. Men with such keen eyesight and such dexterity as these craftsmen became great portrait painters and Conway considers that "John van Eyck stands in the first rank among the discerning portraitists of all time." A drawing made from life, and the painted portrait afterwards executed from the drawing, afford a most instructive study of his work. The model was Cardinal Albergati, a man of great saintliness of character and an Italian diplomat sent on various missions by Eugenius IV. On one of these missions he visited Ghent and Bruges, and the Duke of Burgundy commissioned Jan van Eyck to execute his portrait. There was time for a sketch only from the model. This is preserved in the silver-point drawing on a white ground in the cabinet of prints, Dresden.[1] The rather heavy head is set a little forward on the shoulders. Albergati was a man of fifty-six; the forms, although firm, are those of a person past middle life. The nose is large and coarse, the eyes small, gaining interest and liveliness by a slight dissimilarity in shape and position. Much of the kindliness of the man seems to be conveyed by the mobility about the eyes, and the mouth with its gentle serenity. The bony form in the profile of the forehead, the fulness on the cheekbone, the exact definition of the muscles of the lower face are to be noted. Albergati could not have had such a likeness done in Italy in 1431.

The painting in Vienna (Pl. 46A) is less intimate and is different in spirit. The drawing emphasizes benevolence and a certain homely humour; the man in the painting is rather the official entrusted with an embassy. One might address him as "Your Eminence," and as "Father" in the drawing. The forms differ considerably. They are more angularly drawn, so that the soft

[1] For illustration see *Hubert and John van Eyck*, W. H. James Weale, p. 60.

aged flesh seems leathery. The nose is less large and coarse, the chin more pointed, and the face as a whole elongated. There is a certain rigidity in the painting not found in the sketch. It is interesting to notice these differences in so great a master of veracity.

The full-length portrait "Arnolfini and His Wife" in the National Gallery is signed by Jan van Eyck and dated 1434. The stiffly posed couple suggests an early daguerreotype. They are dressed in the rich fashion of the day. Between the two stands an animated little dog, the emblem of fidelity. The room reveals the same comfortable surroundings as the Ghent "Annunciation." It is the house of a prosperous banker. The bed with its curtains knotted up, the Gothic wainscot chair on which a whisk is hanging, an oriental (Holbein) rug on the tiled floor, and a girandole mirror in which the back view of the bridal couple may be distinguished are all painted with marvellous accuracy and charm. This is the precursor, in a sense, of all the little Dutchmen. Every part is a marvel of lighting. "The picture . . . is an exquisite gem in the finest state of preservation save in one place, across the mirror."

The "Man with the Pink" is startling in its ugliness. This is more forced upon the attention than the artist intended from the disappearance, now concealed by a painted gold frame, of the parapet on which the hands originally rested. The face is painfully unidealized. Age and character are recorded without mercy. Notice the wrinkles about mouth and chin and the puffs of flesh below the eyes. The mouth is cruel and the hands are claw-like. Conway says: "Each picture (portrait) tells its story so plainly that any competent novelist could set all these individuals talking for us without the least difficulty."

From such drastic realism it is a relief to turn to an exquisite small altar-piece in which the prevailing spirit is that of Hubert—the "Madonna Enthroned" in Dresden. The outer panels are decorated with the Annunciation painted in monochrome and resembling the most delicate carving in ivory. The ease of action and simplicity of draperies make this painting exceptionally charming. Thrown open, the altar-piece displays the mellow tone of a tapestry and its diversity of ornament in the detail of the Gothic canopied structure, the variegated marbles, the interlaced capitals, the oriental fabrics and tiled floor, the panes of the glass windows, and, most exquisite, the miniature landscape with snow-crowned mountains. The warm atmospheric

tone of the apse in which the group is enthroned is enlivened by the accents of the Virgin's ruby robe, the cerulean figure at the right, and touches of olive and cerise at the left.

In the work of Jan van Eyck the excellences and the defects of Flemish painting are typically illustrated. His art was a craft carried to scrupulous perfection. The unidealized figures, the complex and inorganic draperies, the domestic settings, the forceful colour, combined to form a peculiar type of design admirably expressing the qualities of the northern race. It is possible to judge his work as decorative art might be judged. Emotionally it leaves us untouched.

The van Eycks were court painters. They worked to please their patron, not the populace. Jan was a personal servant of Philip of Burgundy and was obliged to interrupt his work as a painter to attend to diplomatic errands. They had no school and few direct followers, but such of their works as were placed in accessible churches were the source of inspiration for generations of later painters. The Ghent altar-piece, however, closed rather than opened a chapter. "It was one of the final visions of late Gothic realism in which the mystic element still survives."

Petrus Christus (c. 1410–1473), who was a resident of Bruges during the third quarter of the fifteenth century, carried on the style of the van Eycks. Conway says: "We have reason to believe that Christus visited Italy and taught Antonello da Messina the van Eyck method." Weale regards only three works as certainly by him. A picture painted for the Goldsmiths' Guild is signed and dated 1449 (Pl. 46B). This very important Flemish painting is now in the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman in New York. The excuse for the charming genre scene is the legend of St. Eligius, who, when King Dragobert brings his fiancée to buy her wedding-ring, gives her a ring espousing her to Christ. The lady is dressed in the fashion of the day. The delicate crispness of the head-dress is beautifully painted round the sensitive face, which is evidently a portrait. The interior of the goldsmith's shop is shown in interesting detail. This is "to the best of our knowledge the first pictorial interpretation of an episode taken from real life" (Rooses). Pictures of this type are frequent in the work of later painters.

The school of Bruges was continued in the second half of the fifteenth century by Memlinc, but before speaking of his art it is necessary to turn back to another branch of Flemish painting contemporary with that of the van Eycks.

CHAPTER XXIII

OTHER FLEMISH MASTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

While the van Eycks were painting in Bruges, developments of almost equal importance were taking place in Tournai, which had long been a centre of Gothic art. The first painter to be identified with this school, Robert Campin (1375–1444), settled there in the opening years of the fifteenth century. The older catalogues and histories discuss an artist known as the Maître de Flémalle from the name of the abbey for which he executed an important altar-piece. This painter is now identified by most writers with Robert Campin, whose chief works are the Merode Altar-piece in Brussels, and panels in Madrid and Frankfort. In the latter collection the "Trinity," painted in grisaille, is important because of the fine drawing of the nude body. It shows an excellence in proportion and construction which might result from the study of sculptural models.

Campin's rendering of religious narrative was entirely secular. The homely interpretation gives quaint charm to his St. Barbara, who sits on a Gothic bench with her back to the open fire, pleasantly absorbed in her book. The open casement reveals in the distance her prison tower in process of construction. The genre character is completely developed. In another panel, Joseph, bearded, and hooded in contemporary fashion, sits on a similar bench before a window, opening on a market place. He is experimenting with a carpenter's tool, mending a mousetrap, Rooses says!

A frequently imitated picture is known as the "Virgin of Salamanca." In a version in the Metropolitan Museum, the artist's facial type may be studied—an even oval somewhat elongated, with small features crowded into the centre and a mass of hair which suggests a wig too large for the skull. Tenderness is shown in the relation between Mother and Child, and the infant is well formed. Attendant angels, lutists and harpist, flew over the Alps from Italy, Conway tells us. They stopped long enough when they arrived to don acolyte robes and to have their hair washed and bound with the symbolic crown of the law.

Robert Campin had two pupils, Jacques Daret (1404[?]–1468)

and Roger van der Weyden. The principal work of the former is an altar-piece in five compartments painted at Arras in 1434 and called by M. Hulin a foundation-stone for the history of northern art. One of the panels from this dismembered work, the "Nativity," is in the collection of Mr. Morgan, New York.

It was painted soon after Daret left his master, and a comparison with the "Adoration" by Campin in Dijon shows the source of his inspiration. Motives are borrowed from Campin, though the figures are larger in scale and the dependence upon the style of the illuminators is less apparent. In Daret's rendering a legend is used which, in spite of the disapproval of the early church, had become popular through its appearance in the mystery plays. It is related that Joseph summoned two midwives on the night of the Nativity. One of these women doubted the virginity of Mary and felt her hand suddenly withering. Crying out in pain and remorse she received a message, directing her to stretch forth her hand and touch the Child, "for He is the Saviour of the world and of all those who hope in Him . . . and Salome drew near to the Child and adoring Him she touched the edge of His swaddling clothes and immediately her hand was healed."

Roger van der Weyden (1400–1464) has been called the irreducible man of the north and the survival in his work of Gothic pathos and emotion justifies this title. In contrast to his contemporary Fra Filippo Lippi, the northern painter is deeply stirred by religious themes. It is his desire constantly to draw the mind back to the tragedy of the Passion, to the broken body and its sacramental meaning. Fra Filippo exemplifies the sophisticated temper of the Italian Renaissance. He is tolerant and indulgent, but for his own part not too deeply affected.

Roger's drawing of the nude was always expressive but his movement lacks a controlling rhythm. It is constrained and the members seem to work separately, as if parts of the body had been paralysed and could be moved only by conscious volition. The joints are dry and brittle as if they needed a lubricant. An extreme illustration is seen in the triptych of St. John. The conception of the death scene is grotesque. The executioner suggests a marionette the turn of whose head has been exaggerated by an injudicious pull of the string. With averted face he lays the head of St. John in Salome's salver as if it had Medusa's power to turn to stone. The body, treated with revolting realism, falls forward on the steps. Behind this group, a corridor with casual figures leads to a vaulted banquet hall where Salome presents

the head to her mother. This conception may be contrasted with Italian renderings of the same subject. No Italian artist would have made the banquet secondary to the bloody execution, but the northern painter seemed to consider it a matter of conscience to show how the thing was done.

Roger was born in Tournai, but after 1425 was established in Brussels as civic painter. He executed important historical works in the town hall, later destroyed. He seems to have had a large following and to have exerted an important influence. He was the people's painter, as the van Eycks were the painters of the aristocracy. About 1450 Roger appears to have visited Italy. His later works show modifications which may have resulted from this contact.

An early masterpiece is the "Descent from the Cross" in the Escorial (Pl. 48A). The figures are represented against a gold ground and the resemblance is close to the carved polychrome groups in frequent use. The Saviour is being lowered from the Cross; the youthful disciple on the ladder still holds the dead weight of the arm. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea assist in sustaining the body. On the left, John and Mary of Cleophas, with the weariness of grief, prevent the Virgin from falling forward in complete unconsciousness. The emotion of the Magdalen is exaggerated and her convulsive sobbing is dramatically contrasted with the supine body of the Saviour. The balance figure by figure and the repetition of the lines of Christ's body in those of the Virgin, is pointed out by Maeterlinck. The body of Christ is nobly formed and finely composed. There is no crude dislocation or disfigurement, yet the width at the arm-pits suggests the hanging position and the perpendicular line of the arm repeats the upright of the cross in a suggestive manner.

The "Descent" illustrates better than any other example the deep hold of Gothic mysticism on van der Weyden's mind. His use of Gothic motives is illustrated repeatedly. In Berlin is an ancient copy of the triptych known as the Miraflores altar-piece. The conception is typical. In the "Pietà," the Virgin is seated facing forward, clasping the rigid body of Christ as she gazes at the drawn and disfigured face. In the "Adoration," Joseph, sleeping heavily as he leans on his staff, shows remarkable observation in the sunken cheeks, hollow eyes, and toothless mouth of old age. The third scene represents Christ appearing to the Virgin after the Resurrection, a subject rarely, if ever, represented in early Italian painting. The Metropolitan Museum is fortunate

in possessing the original of this third panel. The figures in the immediate foreground are illuminated from the front though the "stage" where they are placed is partly shadowed. The Virgin in nun-like draperies half rises from her knees as she turns towards the risen Christ. French doors open on a beautiful landscape where we see the Resurrection, while further in the distance the three Marys follow a winding path towards the sepulchre. The tone of the vaulted interior is practically identical in value with the dull gold of the frame, with which the landscape closely corresponds in colour. The tesellated marble pavement is illuminated by the reflection from the sky. Christ is clad in pale wine colour with shadows of deep, transparent madder. The robe of the Virgin is a dark bottle-green. Brilliance and precision of execution delight the eye (Pl. 47B).

About 1450, Roger was commissioned by Chancellor Rolin to paint a large altar-piece of the "Last Judgment" for the hospital given by him to the town of Beaune. By certain critics this picture is regarded as the most important early Netherlandish painting after the Ghent altar-piece. The Judge, enthroned on the rainbow, makes the conventional gestures of benediction and condemnation. Beyond the Apostles the portrait figures of Philip the Good and Eugenius IV. may be recognized. The most impressive feature is the interpretation of the Inferno. Some invisible force draws the condemned as by a powerful magnet against which they struggle and expostulate ineffectually as they are hurried on to the seething depths and dragged down by implacable fiends. The figures are spirited and expressive and the horror of the experience is contagious. The redeemed on the other hand are not successfully rendered. Action and expression are at times almost grotesque. It was to the Italian painter Angelico that Heaven revealed itself, while Hell found its interpreter in this descendant of the Gothic carvers.

The Seven Sacraments was a subject in frequent demand in the medieval period, but Roger's interpretation is among the few examples that have survived. A great crucifix with the historic group at its foot dominates the main panel. The choir of a Gothic cathedral forms the background. At the high altar the priest, celebrating Mass, has elevated the Host, so that one looks from the crucified figure to the perpetual memorial of the Eucharist. Through the open rood screens at each side, the ambulatory chapels are visible with other celebrants of the Mass. The side aisles of the choir, which occupy the wings of the altar-piece, fur-

nish the setting for the remaining sacraments, represented by naturalistic groups. In Baptism two ladies beyond the font are prominent in high Burgundian head-dresses. In the adjoining bay, the rite of Confirmation is administered; further on a priest hears Confession and imposes Penance. On the opposite wing Holy Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction are represented.

Two important altar-pieces date from Roger's last period, the Bladelin triptych in Berlin and the "Adoration of the Kings" in Munich, in which a reminiscence of Gentile da Fabriano has been noted.

The composition of the Annunciation which, with the Presentation, ornaments the wings of this altar-piece, follows a strictly architectonic scheme of verticals and horizontals (Pl. 49c). The Gothic bed raised above the tiled floor is hung with a brocade of crimson and gold. Light shines faintly into the room. The Virgin kneeling at the right turns slightly, perhaps at the sound of the whir of wings. Behind her hovers Gabriel, a lovely silhouette, in a robe of hepatica shades. In his left hand he holds a sceptre and his angelic salutation appears written across the background, while a tiny dove flies down a shaft of light towards the Virgin. She marvels but is not startled; she seems to listen to an inner voice. A similar rendering is illustrated in the panel in the Metropolitan Museum. In this case, the angel's message has not yet been delivered, and the dove is omitted. The treatment is typical of Flemish painting. The angel intrudes upon a purely domestic scene. Every appointment found in prosperous houses of the day is shown. Such a genre rendering was avoided by the Italian painters by whom as a rule the Annunciation was set in some open loggia where a long perspective or a distant view freed it from the limitations of a particular time or place. The interpretation was idyllic.

"Saint Luke Painting the Virgin," one of Roger's most popular pictures, was reproduced in numerous copies. The example in the Boston Museum is by some critics believed to be the original. The head of St. Luke is an especially fine character study, beautifully drawn and modelled. The Child is shown realistically straightening out in a stiff pose depicted with more truth than beauty, but the colour and tone give the picture great charm. Conway calls attention to the fact that St. Luke's technical method is that of the Flemish painter. He is making a dry-point drawing of the group from which his painting will later be executed!

Roger van der Weyden originated many types and motives

(*A*) Memlinc. Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine. Hospital of St. John, Bruges. (Braun)

(*B*) Van der Weyden. Christ after the Resurrection. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Massys. Portrait of a Canon. Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*A*) Van der Weyden. Descent from the Cross. Escorial, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*B*) Van der Goes. Adoration of the Shepherds. Uffizi, Florence (Alinari)

(*A*) Bosch. Adoration of the Kings. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*B*) Massys. Madonna and Child. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*C*) Roger van der Weyden. Annunciation. Munich. (Bruckmann)

(*D*) Bosch. Christ crowned with Thorns. Escorial, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*A*) Bruegel. Winter, Huntsmen in the Snow. Vienna. (Bruckmann)

(*B*) Bruegel. The Blind leading the Blind. Naples. (Anderson)

appearing in the work of later men. Painters of the second half of the fifteenth century showed less initiative in inventing new compositional schemes and on this account Flemish painting appears monotonous as compared with that of Italy.

Among the pupils attracted to Roger's bottega in Brussels, the Dutchman, Dierick Bouts (c. 1400–1475), was one of the most important. His work resembles that of his master in certain details, but lack of feeling sometimes gives his scenes the appearance of lifeless rehearsals. The actors appear to obey stage instructions with little heart, and movement is often mechanical. Contemporary architecture is charmingly rendered, and the brilliant colours and golden tone of his panels have a clarity almost like stained glass. These characteristics are illustrated in the "Last Supper," in Louvain, in which the depth of the room and the relative placing of objects are well realized.

Among his last works is the delightful series in Brussels representing the Emperor Otho. The actors are clad in the Burgundian court dress, superb in its brocaded fabrics. The colours are softer and more modulated with grey than usual, and in the example representing the widow petitioning the enthroned emperor, the rectilinear scheme of grouping is used with excellent effect.

Contacts between Flemish and Italian painters increased in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The visit to Italy of Roger van der Weyden has already been mentioned. In 1468 Justus van Ghent (act. 1460–80), of whom little is known prior to this date, was summoned to Urbino, where he executed an altar-piece for the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, representing the "Institution of the Eucharist." The ceremony takes place in a hall built in the Renaissance style. In the background the unmistakable features of the Duke of Urbino appear and in an adjoining room a nurse is seen carrying the infant Guidobaldo. Figure drawing and types are essentially Flemish throughout.

Justus was also employed on the decoration of the palace of Urbino, in which the humanistic tastes of the Duke Federigo are evident. Here he executed figures of philosophers and other scholars and also is credited with the personifications of the Seven Liberal Arts. These figures are enthroned in architectural niches and present some typical attribute to the scholar or courtier who kneels before them. Dialetic intrusts Federigo himself with a bound volume, Astronomy gives to her worshipper the celestial sphere, and Music, as she hands him a book, points out to the young courtier Costanzo Sforza the pipe organ at her feet (Pl. 21A).

The paintings preserved in Berlin and in the National Gallery are among the most charming examples of such work remaining from the Renaissance period. They not only breathe the ideal atmosphere of Renaissance culture, but they show the specialized interest in perspective which is known to have been one of the chief studies of Melozzo da Forli, who also was employed by Federigo of Urbino. No sign remains of the gaucherie so evident in the altar-piece by Justus. The cartoons for these pictures are believed to have been designed by Melozzo, but it is the tendency of modern criticism to attribute the execution to Justus working under the influence of Melozzo. If this is the case, the Flemish painter showed a capacity for absorbing the cultural atmosphere of a foreign land which few of his countrymen possessed. Schmarsow, arguing for the authorship of Melozzo, exclaims "Do oranges ripen on the apple trees of Flanders?" and it must be confessed that so marked a change of style is disconcerting. Conway says, "If every north country artist who went to Italy had gained as much and lost as little as Justus van Ghent the world would be richer by many masterpieces."

At about this date a tragic figure appeared in Ghent, that of Hugo van der Goes (1435[?]–1482), who with van Eyck, Massys, and Bruegel constitutes the great quartette of Flemish painters. Hugo had only a few years of activity in Ghent, where he was established about 1467, as his entrance into a monastery in 1476 was followed in a few years by his insanity and death.

We know from certain records that Hugo showed a preference for working in a larger scale than his fellow countrymen, and the picture by which he is known, the "Adoration of the Shepherds," is one of the largest Flemish altar-pieces remaining. This picture was painted for the hospital, founded by the Portinari family in connection with the church of Santa Maria Nuova, Florence. It was ordered by Tommaso Portinari, at this time established in Bruges as the representative of the Medici banking house. The picture probably reached Florence about 1476 and is now in the Uffizi. It is from the study of this one authentic painting that Hugo's style is known and that other examples are attributed to him (Pl. 48B).

On the wings of this altar-piece the donor and his family kneel under the protection of their patron saints, whose towering figures are magnificent. The male saints, a middle-aged and an old man, are noble figures and show an unusual breadth of drawing and ease of movement. St. Catherine and the Magdalen

stand before a landscape with the delicately drawn leafless trees of a northern winter. The Magdalen is sumptuously gowned and is "perhaps the finest full length figure of a woman drawn in the Netherlands of those days" (Conway). The portraits of the Portinari family are beautiful examples of drawing and character study. Especially lovely are the children: the tender forms of the little boys are unexcelled. The little girl is very serious and demure, but here also childish forms have been carefully observed by one who shows a special predilection for children.

In the central panel the actual and the ideal are combined. The Virgin kneels before the new-born Babe adored by a little flock of angels in rich vestments who appear to have just alighted on the ground. Other heavenly messengers flit about, intent upon various missions. The stable is part of a ruined Romanesque building and on the right there push in through the open timber construction the shepherds, straight from the pasture, in the uncouth habits of the fields and with the grime of earth still on their hands. It is almost as if the painter had shown two worlds, for in spite of the realism of details in the main group (as for instance the wizened form of the new-born Child) the spirit is medieval as we see it in the miniatures of a preceding age. But the shepherds come from the workaday world of here and now, and peer in upon the Holy Group as if the unseen world had suddenly been opened before them. These extraordinary figures are shown with a vivid reality beyond anything that had been produced in painting up to this time. Reproductions of the individual heads might easily be mistaken for modern work.

It would be surprising indeed if Italian painters had felt no influence from such works. Naturalistic aims had inspired them for many years. In these peasants they must have recognized a mastery of realistic portraiture beyond anything they had achieved. Among the more important Florentine painters it is in the work of Ghirlandajo that Flemish influence is most evident. In 1485 he painted an "Adoration of the Shepherds" for which Hugo's group furnished the model, although he did not equal the actuality of the northern painter—the scent of the earth has been lost. Hugo's picture came to Florence in the same decade in which Justus was working in Urbino and at this very time Antonello da Messina was instructing the Venetian painters in the technical methods of the Flemish school.

In the meantime the medieval style of the north was achieving its last triumph in Bruges, where Hans Memlinc (c. 1430–1494),

a German by birth, established himself about 1467. Roger van der Weyden died in the decade following Memlinc's arrival, Justus van Ghent had recently left for Italy and does not appear in Flemish records after 1467, Hugo van der Goes played no rôle in art after that date, and Bouts died in 1475. Memlinc therefore had no important rivals.

He was a prosperous painter and received commissions from foreigners as well as from his own countrymen. His earliest known altar-piece was executed about 1468 for an English patron, Sir John Donne, and is now in Chatsworth. Already he had determined upon the compositional scheme for a formal altar-piece from which he scarcely deviated throughout his life. In an interior with a tiled floor and a columned portico forming a continuous background for the three panels, the tableau is arranged. On a canopied throne adorned with a brocaded panel the Virgin is seated with an oriental rug beneath her feet. In the foreground kneel the donors as a part of the pyramid of which she is the apex. Musical angels stand at each side of the throne and saints recommend the worshippers. On the wings stand the single figures of St. John the Baptist and the Evangelist. There is an atmosphere of "happy gravity" and the silence is such as contemplatives alone can preserve. This description might apply with little alteration to a number of Memlinc's enthroned Madonnas, in which the size of the donor's family furnishes the principal modification.

The establishment of pictorial types during the first half of the fifteenth century has been mentioned. Later painters and patrons alike seemed content with the repetition of these simple motives with little variation. Fromentin, in comparing van Eyck and Memlinc, says: "One would think they were contemporaries, so alike are their compositions, so identical their methods, their archaisms so entirely of the same date." A kind of inertia seems to have settled down upon the school, and painters like Memlinc were satisfied with one mood and one or two compositional types.

The Virgin of Memlinc invariably sits erect with the slightest possible deviation from the frontal pose. Her face is elongated, the height of the forehead is accentuated, and only rarely do the folds of a kerchief relieve the flatness of the skull. As in other Flemish paintings, the waving strands of hair which fall on the shoulders are light and golden as if just washed. The Virgin is either reading her breviary or lost in meditation. Her eyes are

downcast and almost mechanically she prevents the Child from leaping off her knee in his eagerness to take the proffered apple or to investigate the present offered by the king. The Child himself is more winning than those represented by Memlinc's predecessors, often distressing examples of malnutrition.

Memlinc was no more successful in creating an ideal type than earlier Flemish painters. Generally a strong family likeness characterizes all the saints and it is only when the donor is introduced that the spell is broken. At times, however, especially in older faces, greater interpretation of character appears. The strength and rectitude of a whole life are imprinted on certain countenances, and again the face of one habituated to prayer is shown.

The staging of these pictures is always charming. Landscape backgrounds are tranquil and parklike, with well groomed trees and picturesque ruins of medieval buildings. The interiors are dignified and more idyllic than those of the earlier generation. The painter loved splendid fabrics. On the dais of the Virgin's throne he spreads superb Turkish rugs with their mosaic of rich colour. Among his studio properties he evidently had specimens of velvet brocade. These he disposes and lights differently, but he chooses almost invariably the bold pomegranate design in crimson and gold with its sturdy serpentine stem.

Among his masterpieces, the first place should be given to the Johannes altar of 1479, which has been called the stateliest product of the school. The central panel is a splendid design. Nothing richer in colour or more delightfully modulated in line could be imagined. Memlinc shows himself the descendant of van Eyck and van der Weyden, but he no longer introduces the full detail of the former or shows the peculiarities of the latter. There is a greater feeling for the use of line in the sense in which it was employed by the Sienese. Indeed, this is almost like a Sienese picture which has lost its hieratic quality and acquired graciousness (Pl. 47A).

It is interesting to note the studied symmetry of the central composition. The Child's head occupies the exact centre of the panel. As he turns to place the ring on St. Catherine's finger, the Virgin moves in the opposite direction and with a balancing action turns the leaves of the sacred book held by an angelic acolyte. On the other side a smiling angel touches the stops of his pipe organ, his eyes fixed musingly on the mystic ceremony. The group is seen from a high point so that the crescent formed by the figures is accentuated and the looseness characteristic of a "santa conver-

sazione" is secured. St. Catherine and St. Barbara are placed slightly in front, and the three principal figures sit on low stools entirely concealed by their draperies. The group is made compact by the figures standing before the vertical columns and is given height by the bottle-green angels who hold a crown high above the Virgin's head. St. Catherine is brought into close connection with the central group. "A veil transparent as water adds to the whiteness of the complexion the paleness of an impalpable fabric. . . . Never did a painter enamoured of a woman's hand paint anything more perfect in its gesture, its drawing and its graceful line than this full and long, tapering and pearly white hand holding out one of its fingers to receive the betrothal ring" (Fromentin). The colour is only less brilliant than van Eyck's cardinal, wine, rose-coral (dull), gold brocades, green, and plum. Fierens-Gevaert says, "The mysticism of our race has been able to speak elsewhere a language more grandiose and more pathetic; it has never known a seduction more pure nor a suavity more adorable."

A repetition of the "Mystic Marriage" in the Metropolitan Museum is more informal. It has not the serenity given by the surroundings of the Bruges picture nor the hush of pillared halls. It is more naïve and less idealized, but it is splendid in colour and technique and full of charm.

A sweet austerity is given to the triptych of the "Adoration" in Bruges, ". . . where the conventional treatment of these religious subjects reaches perfection" (Conway). The colour is brilliant. The Virgin's deep Antwerp blue is offset by cardinal on the left, by raisin velvet on the right.

The picture in Munich known as the "Seven Joys of Mary" introduces us to Memlinc's miniature style. In spite of the multiplication of incidents in this narrative picture, the salient points have been accentuated. Among the many scenes, the Massacre of the Innocents is particularly interesting because of its northern genre quality. It has a reality that is quite appalling, especially in contrast to the pastoral surroundings—the reapers, the angel, and the shepherds.

One of Memlinc's most charming essays in miniature scale was the adornment of the reliquary in the Hospital of St. John, Bruges, with scenes from the legend of St. Ursula. These are like enamels enriching the little Gothic shrine. As examples of a running narrative, they are interesting to compare with Carpaccio's series from the same subject. In the "Arrival at Cologne," the Romanesque

churches, of which the city has such fine specimens, and the lofty lines of the Gothic cathedral are delightfully painted.

As in the case of other northern artists, portraiture was an important part of Memlinc's work. His "portraits have not the rigour, the hardness, the scrupulous austerity of the old style" (Fierens-Gevaert). All the patrons are shown in their rôle of devotee and, as Fromentin has said, "They look as if they had gone through life suffering and were meditating upon it now." An example in Antwerp is one of the earliest. It has been identified as that of Spinelli, an Italian medallist who, in 1468, was employed in Bruges by Charles the Bold as an engraver of seals. The painting is extremely forceful. One might compare it with Perugino's beautiful portrait of Francesco dell' Opere in the Uffizi. The sky is luminous, passing from the deep green-blue of the zenith to robin's egg and at the horizon to pale yellow. The distance is clear and transparent, blue-green. The coat is a burning black which Memlinc loved. A later portrait of the greatest finesse and delicacy is in the Metropolitan Museum. This represents the same Tommaso Portinari for whom van der Goes executed his masterpiece.

In Memlinc the austerities of earlier Flemish art are softened. This is true both in conception and in technique. The "beauty of holiness," the subdued passions, the ordered life, is his subject. Conway calls him the Perugino of the north. Technically, a greater reliance on line and a more harmonious movement than in his predecessors delight the eye. Unity characterizes his colour, which is less sparkling and scintillating than that of van Eyck, but which is vigorous and marked by a splendid use of areas of black. His execution shows "precision without hardness" (Cox).

The style of Memlinc was carried on by Gerard David (1464–1523), a Dutchman by birth, who worked in Bruges from 1483 until his death in 1523. He retains the idealistic atmosphere of the earlier school and in spite of certain evidences of Italian influence he was never led into borrowing indiscriminately. The influence shows itself rather in greater appreciation of the ideal beauty of physical form. His figures are articulated with a greater feeling than has been shown before for the rhythmic movement of the body. Especially is this true in his drawing of the hands, which are not only beautiful in form and proportion but are capable of expressing emotion, as may been seen in the Virgin's touch on the body of the Child.

The female type, which has undergone so little change during the

whole century, shows the same skull forms, which are essentially Teutonic, but hair dressing and head covering are now permitted to frame the face more sympathetically. The costume is still that in contemporary use, but the form beneath controls its arrangement and the draperies are more functional than before. In the treatment of landscape, David was a true inheritor of the earlier tradition reaching him through Dutch sources.

David's early paintings in Bruges were executed at the order of the government. Weale tells us of the riots and disorders in 1488, the execution of the burgomaster, and the order which David received from his successor to typify justice in scenes from the legend of Cambyses. David is less successful in such dramatic histories than in quieter themes. He is more at home in religious subjects. Although the influence of Memlinc is strong, there is greater invention in David's compositional schemes. In his "Marriage of St. Catherine" in the National Gallery, the individual figures by their easy and ample movements seem to acquire personality. An individual adaptation of a traditional theme is illustrated in the "Madonna and Saints" in Rouen. The seated figures rise to the upper boundary of the low field. The interplay among the saints is freer and more naturalistic than before. The central pyramid of the Virgin is accentuated by the light on the attendant figures of the angel musicians. The Virgin presents the Child with a bunch of white grapes, a favourite motive with David.

In his late period, after a visit to Antwerp which left its mark on his style, he invented the most enchanting lyric, in the "Rest on the Way to Egypt" belonging to Mr. Morgan. The Virgin sits in the foreground, her lunch basket at her feet. In the background are trees from which Joseph with bold movement is knocking down nuts for the Child, who is already busy with his bunch of white grapes. The type of the Virgin is particularly beautiful and the delineation of the hands most perfect. A mantle of horizon blue, treated without mannerism, is drawn up over her head and flung back over the rock at the left. Her dress is of Antwerp blue with a glimpse at wrist and ankle of an under-dress of delicate rose.

A similar idyllic fantasy guided him in the little picture representing the Virgin feeding the Child before a casement looking out on one of the canals of Bruges with swans swimming on the water. Bread and apples on the shelf suggest the still life painting of Chardin. The mother is a charming type, the nude baby a winning conception. Religious symbolism is not wholly forgotten,

for the Child holds a branch with seven cherries, typifying the seven joys of the Virgin. The popularity of the picture, of which numerous copies exist, shows how well it expressed the spirit of the time.

But David was also able to suggest emotion, as in several renderings of the Crucifixion and the Descent, in which he was successful in expressing states of inner consciousness by significant pose and gesture. This is well illustrated in the "Crucifixion" in the Metropolitan Museum. The pose of the Magdalen's head and her wonderful hands—tremulous but tense, just laid together—are as fine as any expression could be of adoration, suppliance, and grief. They seem to say, "My Lord and my God."

David had various followers who continued to paint in Bruges up to the middle of the sixteenth century, but in him the local tradition found its last talented exponent. The "noble and beautiful town" which Dürer visited in 1520 had already declined commercially and the filling up of the river channel gave the death-blow to its trade. This was diverted to Antwerp, which in the sixteenth century became the commercial and artistic centre of Flanders.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SCHOOL OF ANTWERP IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Antwerp, which hitherto had played a secondary part in commercial history, came into sudden prominence at the end of the fifteenth century, prospering as Bruges declined. The city reached its highest point of prosperity in the reign of Charles V. A hundred ships are said to have come and gone daily, and numberless merchants, as well as representatives of foreign banking interests, were established in this flourishing mart which Conway calls the Chicago of those days. Paris alone surpassed it in population, and as the brilliant fortunes of the city developed, artists and scholars took up their residence there.

The first Flemish painter to embody the new spirit was Quentin Massys (1466–1530), who was born in Louvain, where his early training apparently was received. In the last decade of the fifteenth century he settled in Antwerp, where he remained until his death. "An alert man in a wide-awake day," he numbered among his friends the great thinkers and painters of his time, Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Dürer, and Holbein. "He became the link between the truth of northern art and the idealism of the Latin masters." Conway feels that he "was more infected with the humanist spirit than an imitator of Renaissance forms," in spite of his feminine types, which so strongly recall the work of Luini and other Lombard followers of Leonardo. Emotional and sentimental motives are treated with a new grace and refinement. His colour differs from that of the earlier school both in range and in surface quality, as he no longer aims at an enamel-like finish.

Flemish tradition is evident in the early panels representing the heads of Christ and the Virgin. The halos which in Flemish painting are always a suggestive symbol of the aura of saintliness are wonderfully effective in this instance. The white rays which dart out from the head produce a nimbus of pale green against the prussian blue of the background and give the illusion of an impalpable substance.

Very different from these cult heads is the panel in which a charming Mother and Child caress one another and seal their play with a lingering kiss (Pl. 49B). This theme was first used by Bouts, but the purely human interpretation is new. The restraints of formalism are broken and we have sentiment verging upon sentimentality. The proportions of the Child are natural and the movement free, as he pulls his mother's veil and pushes back her dress suggestively. On a small table at the Virgin's side a meal is laid out, and except that the group is seated on a marble throne, there is nothing to indicate exalted personages. The Flemish type has been idealized in the Virgin, who, in a mantle of vermilion and an under-dress of Antwerp blue with shell pink sleeves, stands out in strong contrast to the distance, executed in pale tones like those of English water-colourists. The head is adorned with a delicately embroidered transparent veil, and the expression has lost the vacuity which gave such sameness in the work of earlier painters. For the first time, the northern artist seems to be conscious of feminine charm.

Massys has also a strong feeling for the grotesque. The mingling of abnormal types with ideal characters produces a singular effect in the "Adoration" in the Metropolitan Museum. "Without an intellectual effort," Mr. Rankin says, "who could guess the subject?" The Virgin in her sibyl's turban is very winning and the tiny Child, with his serious mien, who is supported on her hand is altogether delightful. Interest is focussed upon the foreground king in a raisin colored velvet tunic with sleeves of gorgeous orange. The painter's zeal in delineating his aged features verges upon caricature. The parchment skin is drawn thinly over his high skull, prominent cheek bones, and great hooked nose. His neck shrivels into an ermine-lined tunic. The remaining kings are hardly less resplendent, but close behind them press the town rabble, uncouth, fantastic, and even menacing. The ruined building adorned with Renaissance pilasters frames a brilliant sky in which is echoed the peacock blue of the Virgin's robe. A network of filigree ornament runs through the whole picture, richly decorating the costume of the kings, in braiding, jewels, and arms, and culminating in the elaborate, fine-scale repoussé of the golden gifts.

This picture is too bizarre to represent the painter fairly—but his large altar-pieces are serious and important works. Of these the triptych of St. Anne (Brussels) has as central subject the "Holy Kinship", a favourite Flemish theme in which all the

ramifications of the family are shown surrounding St. Anne and the Virgin, who share the responsibility of caring for the Christ Child. On the wings is illustrated the northern rendering of the lives of Joachim and Anna. Methods of composition, details, and facial types are unusual. Particularly touching is the death of the sainted woman. The figures surrounding the bed stand before a medieval window, and the boyish Jesus gives a parting blessing. The grouping is not entirely satisfactory, although it is scientifically planned. Conway considers that the third dimension is more fully realized than ever before in northern art. But foreshortening and chiaroscuro are contradicted to some extent by the method of colouration. The strong tones used in the shadows produce a flat effect. The colour scheme is made up of coppers and greys, now blue-violet, now red-violet.

High praise is given to the "Pietà" in Antwerp both for its academic excellence as a composition and for the solemnity of the religious sentiment, but although these virtues must be conceded, the peculiar charm of the painter is better realized in subjects of a more worldly appeal.

Fine in colour and illumination is an example in the Louvre representing the "Banker and his Wife." The general surroundings and composition of these half-lengths recall the St. Eligius by Petrus Christus. Massys is perhaps imitating an earlier type in this picture in which he represents costumes of about 1440 (Conway). If this painting is reminiscent of the older school, the "Courtesan," in its coarse seductiveness, foreshadows the popular subjects of the later sixteenth century. The gross and repulsive face of the lover is forcibly contrasted with the enticing expression of the woman.

Such studies of human nature prepare us for the psychological character of Massys' portraits, in which the earlier analytical method gradually is replaced by an interpretation embodying the cultural background of the model, his intellectual outlook, and his personal charm. Among the beautiful examples of such portraits are those of Peter Gilles, Erasmus, John Carondelet, and the Canon (Pl. 47c). The qualities that the painter felt so vividly in each model animate the whole picture. The sensitive, piquant alertness of Peter Gilles is expressed in pose and composition. The set of the jaw of Erasmus and his narrowed gaze reinforce the deliberate calculation with which he transcribes thought. Gesture is most expressive in Carondelet while integrity and wholesome good sense are indicated in the splendidly constructed

head of the Canon. It was through such portraits as these that Massys elevated the northern interest in portraiture to a higher plane of psychology and beauty than it had reached before.

An interesting contemporary of Massys was Joachim de Patinir (1485–1524), whose romantic landscapes exercised a great influence. Herri met de Bles (1490–1550) and other men of the next generation gave increasing evidence of Renaissance influence. For while in 1475 Italian painters had benefited by Flemish example, by 1500 the reverse was true and Italian ideals began to displace the native style in Flemish painting.

Gossaert or Mabuse (1472–c. 1535), "who is the most remarkable representative of the transition period," illustrates this point. His earlier paintings, such as the "Adoration" in the National Gallery, exhibit Flemish characteristics, and the sentiment is like that of the school of Bruges; but later pictures show the studied elegance of figure groups, the new preoccupation with the nude, and the idealization of facial types resulting from imitation of Renaissance models with which he became familiar while in the service of Philip of Burgundy, by whom Jacopo de' Barbari (1450–1515), a Venetian painter, was also employed. In 1508 Mabuse accompanied Philip to Italy, and his admiration for Italian forms is shown in the curious picture of "Danaë" in Munich.

His treatment of the nude may be studied in the "Adam and Eve" (Hampton Court) and in the miniature "Ecce Homo" (Antwerp), which in spite of its small size is an impressive picture. The Saviour is seated on an elevated step before the column and is lost in reverie, oblivious of the curious gaze of three observers. The body is well drawn and treated with the greatest simplicity. The drapery that falls at the side has been carefully designed and seems to have been placed consciously with relation to the body and to the column, not only to form a contrast with the sculptural mass of the figure but to reinforce certain structural lines in the composition.

Italian influence is marked in the late work of Bernard van Orley (1491–1542), court painter of Brussels at the opening of the sixteenth century. Such pictures as the early "Madonna and Child" in the Metropolitan Museum still show purely Flemish types, finesse in execution, and superb texture painting, as in the squirrel lining of the Virgin's mantle. The kiss of Massys and the landscape of Patinir, and something of his winning artificiality, are still preserved.

In the "Trials of Job," painted in Brussels, the melodramatic scene and the display of foreshortening bear witness to van Orley's admiration for both Raphael and Michelangelo, whose work he had studied perhaps in Rome, as he is said to have visited Italy in 1509. Already he shows the eclecticism which is to characterize one branch of Flemish painting throughout the succeeding century.

This tendency to imitate foreign models on the one hand is offset by the northern traits of another group of painters. The peculiar genius of the race is epitomized in the work of Hieronymus Bosch, a Dutchman by birth, who died about 1516 but who exercised a profound influence on later art. He occupies an almost unique position because of his inventive imagination. Conway says, "Every subject was beheld by him as a complete mental image provoked by his imagination." Mr. Burroughs writes, "His artistic personality was made up of naturalism, love of genre and the fantastic, insuppressible mockery, qualities inherent in his race, which had already interwoven familiar touches of everyday life with the saints and angels on the cathedrals and had covered the margins of grave MSS. with humorous or malicious inventions."

Of his early idealistic period is the "Adoration of the Kings" (Pl. 49A). "One can almost fancy it was painted for the pleasure of children," Mr. Burroughs says, and "Once upon a time—" is the best way to begin its description. The background is a ruined medieval fortress with clinging vines and birds' nests in the dismantled tower. The ground floor is a stable. The small size of the figures in relation to the field results in a loose grouping and the sudden perspective makes one feel as if looking from a gallery upon a sacred tableau. It is unexpectedly good in the distribution of accents and the balance of parts.

The stable-man and shepherds make furtive efforts to see what is taking place but, as in a dream, strange things happen without causing a quiver of astonishment. The Virgin, a German Mädchen in peacock green, sits on a gold-draped throne. Marco Polo never encountered stranger kings than these inspired, no doubt, by travellers' tales and popular miracle plays. A breeze is blowing and the angels, who seem to be celestial mariners, have difficulty in stretching the canopy above. The sky and distance and the ruin against it are charming in colour. The nile-green panne-velvet upland about Jerusalem forms a convenient stage for the presentation of numberless activities. This

distance is charmingly related in colour to the Virgin's mantle and the bit of slate roof. The picture has an engaging sedateness in spite of its preposterousness.

In Madrid is a somewhat later rendering of the same subject. The landscape is particularly lovely in this exquisite little picture. But such works belong to Bosch's early period only, and it was as "the ultimate interpreter of the beliefs, the visions, and the terrors of the middle age" that he exercised such an influence on his contemporaries. His work was particularly popular in Spain, where Philip II. showed deep appreciation of his moralistic and visionary themes.

One of Bosch's finest religious pictures is the "Christ Crowned with Thorns" (Pl. 49D). Already his human types are brutal and almost terrifying, but the face of Christ shows such a mingling of serenity and capacity for suffering that the picture affords a psychological study of deep interest. Bosch's later rendering of a similar theme, the "Christ Bearing His Cross," in Ghent, "borders upon bestiality." Friedlander says of this example, "The human elements in the caricature are atrophied, the bestial intensified. He shows the intuition of an alienist."

The next step brought the painter to moralizing, and in the "Temptation of St. Anthony" his imagination has been given free reign. The monstrous abortions that pollute the air and lurk beneath every stone seem to be the creations of a diseased brain. In the version in Madrid, the fixed stare of the crouching figure is that of a maniac. No wonder Philip II. craved such decorations for the cell he had prepared for his last hours!

While such visions tormented the brain of this essentially northern painter, contemporary Italian artists were decorating the Sistine ceiling and the Stanze with their lofty religious themes, and Giorgione and Titian were celebrating the beauty of pagan myth. "From whom," Ricci inquires, "can this man of North Brabant have borrowed this spirit of exasperated satire and this genius for the most outrageous caricature?" Bosch produced a great amount of work, and its popularity resulted in numerous copies. His influence was widespread, and in spite of medieval conceptions it had as well a modernity that found echoes not only in his own day but in the productions of Goya in a later time.

The opposite tendencies so strikingly illustrated in the work of van Orley and Bosch run parallel during the succeeding century, and the Flemish painters may be classified under two general

categories; namely, those for whom the attraction of the Italian Renaissance is paramount, and those who express in their art the interests and ideals peculiar to their race.

All through the sixteenth century, the former group produced pictures in which the types borrowed from Italy are executed in brilliant colour, with a smooth technique and a high degree of finish. This results in a purely academic style.

In two directions they show greater individuality: in the treatment of landscape, generally mountain scenery, and in the development of portraiture, which throughout the century continues to show the fine individual traits which the north early developed. The most famous among the portrait painters are Joos van Cleef the younger (sixteenth century), Antonio Moro (1517–1576), and Frans Pourbus II. (1569–1622). Their employment by foreign patrons shows in what regard their ability was held. Joos van Cleef worked in London in the middle of the sixteenth century. Antonio Moro sojourned in various foreign cities and exercised an important influence upon the portrait painters employed at the court of Spain in the middle of the sixteenth century. Pourbus II. was first court painter in Mantua and afterwards, in the early years of the seventeenth century, settled in France as painter in ordinary to Marie de' Medici.

The second group of artists took up with great zest concerns of everyday life. They show a predilection for the kitchen, the kermis, the brawl. All the coarse, roisterous life of the middle class, forgetful of everything beyond the gratification of the moment, delights them. Naturalistic studies, which have always fascinated these northern painters, now lead to extreme exaggeration. Brutal ugliness abounds. At the same time, landscape as a separate art develops, and backgrounds, often of a fantastic unreality, serve to soften or give charm to the uncouth scenes. All the work is characterized by brilliance of colour and by admirable technical skill. It is as the unique epitome of this home-made style that the work of Pieter Bruegel must be regarded.

An interval of ten years separated the death of Bosch and the birth of Pieter Bruegel (1525–1569), who artistically was his direct heir. The earlier painter was dominated by medieval terrors though he clothed them in new forms resulting from an independent observation of men and things. In Pieter Bruegel, a similar fondness for caricature led to a deeper analysis of common human traits seen in the peasant class. Bruegel was born in Brabant. His work was produced during the third quarter

of the sixteenth century. Although he travelled in Italy, there is not the slightest evidence of influence by the Italian masters. An innovator in landscape painting and a designer of an almost modern type, Bruegel never failed to add to the artistic interest of his works a satirical treatment of human foibles and weaknesses. The parables which he illustrated afforded him ample opportunities. In his picture of the "Blind Leading the Blind" (Pl. 50B), terror communicates itself from one blank face to another as the figures lurch forward helplessly. The coarse brutalities of human nature gave terrible reality to his "Massacre of the Innocents," taking place in a tranquil, snow-covered village. It is a butchery which a contemporary of the Duke of Alva had no difficulty in visualizing. In his harvest scene, "Summer," he shows us the noon-time rest, when the greedy peasants cram their cavernous mouths with food until they sink sprawling on the ground in a stupor of sleep. Misery, blackguardism, coarse hilarity, characterize the peasants as Bruegel saw them. Later these same men reappear in the taverns of Brouwer and Steen.

Bruegel was an innovator all along the line. This is particularly to be noted in his treatment of landscape, where he gave pictorial breadth to motives long in vogue in northern art. Unity is attained by the close relation of values, in spite of slight atmospheric tones. In the winter scene in Vienna, the expectant silhouettes of the hunters with their dogs at heel are brought into harmony of design and scale with the bare tree trunks sharply defined. This picture is essentially modern in design and in feeling for the mood of nature (Pl. 50A). But his landscape was intended primarily as a background for figures and its interpretative function is always uppermost. See how the tottering figures of the blind are merged into the gentle lines of the trees and village church and bound into the scheme of their colouring. The gluttony of the harvesters dwindles into insignificance as we contemplate nature's abundance. The miseries and asperities of human character are contrasted with the magnanimity of nature.

"In Bruegel the life of the folk stirred as it did in Burns," and although he closed the early epoch of Flemish art, he opened a new chapter as well. "He ranks with the foremost painters of every age" (Conway).

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CHAPTER XXV

CHARACTERISTICS OF GERMAN PAINTING: DÜRER

Since German painting before the time of Dürer is a development of local schools with no unifying influence, its study is difficult. Moreover, with the exception of a few outstanding personalities, its relation to European art is more receptive than contributive. We shall therefore treat the subject very briefly.

A strong manuscript school flourished in the early Middle Ages. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Byzantine types appeared as a result of political affiliations with Italy. Wall paintings were employed in the early period, but in the fourteenth century these decorations were largely superseded by altar-pieces which, being smaller and nearer the eye, were more personal, more emotional, and more diversified (Michel). It is with the latter that we have to deal.

If we turn to a map showing the trade routes of the fourteenth century, we shall find the strategic position of those towns in which the most important schools of art were established. In the north, the city of Cologne was the seat of a particularly interesting development of painting. In the fifteenth century Colmar, Nuremberg, and Augsburg took the lead in the south and sporadic developments occurred along the trade route through the Tyrol.

During the fourteenth century, the Rhine valley was distinguished by the presence of a group of mystics of whom Eckhart and Tauler are the most familiar. The school of painting which developed in Cologne in the latter part of the century showed a comparable preoccupation with mystic idealism expressed in terms of colour and rhythm. It was a school of devotees and its Quietist mood and conceptions had an appreciable influence on contemporary art elsewhere. No work can with certainty be ascribed to Meister Wilhelm, who was active after 1350, but the style of the period is illustrated in the panel in Munich in which St. Veronica displays the napkin with the Holy Face (Pl. 51A). The term "mystic" has already been applied to Sienese art, but the hieratic element and the ceremonial splendour are there

combined with emotional intensity, while in the German master all is naïve. It has the homeliness of Brother Lawrence in his kitchen. The saint, garbed like a nun, holds the veil before her so that the Holy Face occupies the central position. This is treated with admirable impersonality. The cruciform halo and the plaited crown are arranged in a formal design. The face of the saint is delicate and sensitive. The unfocussed eyes give the impression of mystic preoccupation with things immaterial. Groups of tiny cherubs at the lower corners are bunched like nosegays. Characteristically German are the round, soft contours, the rather large heads, and the small receding chins. The "Madonna with the Bean Blossom" (Cologne) is a product of the same tradition. Note the unconsciousness of the figures, the contemplative feeling, the charm of colour, the facial types. This art is entirely individual in character.

So devotional and unworldly a school could make no general appeal and there was an interval when in answer to the more worldly demands then being made, "prose succeeded to this poetry." But by an outsider (a Swabian painter), Stefan Lochner, "a new twig was grafted on the old trunk," and the style was continued into the fifteenth century. His charming individuality is revealed in the panel of the "Madonna with the Violet" (Pl. 51B). The Virgin has stepped out of some manuscript illumination into a wider, freer environment. She is lost in a mood of poetic reverie, but all about her is the blithe world of light and colour—flowers and humming-bird angels. She has lost the "other-worldliness" of the earlier style. The picture is no longer wholly *mystic*. We are reminded of Angelico and of Gentile da Fabriano, although the figure has a certain aristocratic stateliness of its own. This forms a link in the chain of international art flourishing in the early fifteenth century. It is "one of the most beautiful of all German pictures" (Dickinson). Comparing it with contemporary Flemish work, we notice the lack of interest in imitation and in realism and the crudeness of the technique.

Lochner's masterpiece was the triptych of the "Adoration" painted for the Hôtel de Ville, Cologne, and now in a chapel in the Cathedral. Michel calls this the most harmonious German work of the fifteenth century. United with the gala pageant is a reminiscence of the devotional spirit which recalls to the spectator the reality of the inner life.

Nowhere is Lochner's "delicious naïveté of sentiment" more engaging than in the "Madonna of the Rose Garden" in Co-

logne. The colour is pure and brilliant, in keeping with the child-like spirit of this enchanting vision. Technically we may find much to criticize. Lochner's figures are not always well drawn, they are often silhouetted against the gold ground with little feeling for atmosphere, and the execution is lacking in finesse. In all these respects he is inferior to his Italian and Flemish contemporaries; but his means were adequate to express this peculiarly personal vision, and no one else has peopled his spiritual paradise with such exquisite fairy folk.

With the later fifteenth century, the individual quality of the school weakened, although its unaffected simplicity remained the chief characteristic in the art of the Master of the Life of Mary who takes his name from panels in Munich. The Master was influenced by Roger van der Weyden and greater realism in figure drawing is combined with grace of line. This, with the introduction of naturalistic detail, makes the use of an unbroken gold background appear incongruous. The harmonious and tranquil scheme of colour is in keeping with the gentle spirit, which still suggests medieval devotionalism.

From this time on, Flemish influence increased and it is often difficult to distinguish the painters of Cologne from their contemporaries of the Netherlands. The Master of the Holy Kinship, who derives his name from a picture in Cologne, shows a close following of the formal composition characteristic of Flemish sante conversazioni. The central group is posed before a brocaded panel and distant scenes are set in an architectural background. The faces are of interest, but are not very intimately studied; they seem like receipts from a greater master. The picture is brilliant and harmonious in colour. It has exactly the light, bright, not over-serious quality that is attained in modern imitations. It is hard to say why this is good and they are not.

The northern position of Cologne led naturally to contact with the Flemish towns and local characteristics were not sufficiently strong to resist very long the influence of Flemish art. At the end of the century the Master of the Death of Mary who is now identified with the Flemish painter van Cleff (1490[?]–1540) settled and worked in Cologne. There is no further development of a national art to record there.

In the south the same struggle between local and foreign tendencies took place, but in this case the influence came from Italy. Social conditions, however, were very dissimilar. German artists did not have cultivated princes as their patrons, and generally

speaking, German painting makes a poor comparison with that of Italy. The purchasers of works of art were burghers whose understanding of esthetic beauty was limited. There was a steady demand for the work of goldsmiths, wood-carvers, and engravers, and painting was little more than a branch of craftsmanship, the altar-piece itself being a composite work. Set in an elaborate pinnacled frame it was composed of numerous painted panels while frequently the central motive was carved in relief. Dramatic narrative was in great demand and the cycle of the Passion was constantly repeated. Just as modern taste is vitiated by the extravagances of the motion picture, so in that day the popular ideal was affected by the mystery play, which was enlivened by crude and vulgar exaggerations. The burgher desired that his altar-piece should be no less striking, and in meeting this demand the painters could not develop standards of design. In Italy such standards were set by the patrons themselves. Moreover, paint was not the most logical medium for the German artist. In Italy the painters often were sculptors as well, while in Germany the engravers were painters. The demand for this work increased with the development of printing, and the unsettled religious conditions during the early years of the sixteenth century made it at times a necessary source of livelihood for the German painter. The type of design suited to a print would be inadmissible in a painting, but it was difficult for the artist accustomed to the intricacies of such design to remember when he handled the brush the simplicity and breadth necessary to the painter's success. To substitute effects of tone and colour for the broken areas to which he was accustomed, was an almost impossible task.

The most important local schools at the close of the fifteenth century were those of Franconia and Swabia. Nuremberg, which was a centre of industrial art, took the lead in the Franconian school. Painting was at first affected by various outside influences, but they served only to stimulate the independence which was a marked characteristic in the fifteenth century. The spirit of invention and progress led in painting to a rapid advance along naturalistic lines.

The leading painters before Dürer were Hans Pleydenwurff (d. 1472) and his successor, Wolgemut (1434–1519), who worked in partnership with his stepson, Wilhelm Pleydenwurff. He was the head of a large establishment and according to the usual custom, the altar-pieces, which were collaborative works, appeared under his name. As a painter, Wolgemut's work is harsh and

lacking in beauty and in sincerity of feeling. The principal panels of the Peringsdorfer altar-piece (1487) show qualities of far greater excellence than the work of Wolgemut. The "Ecstacy of St. Bernard" is exceptionally fine. The saint sustains with difficulty the body of the Saviour as it falls forward from the cross. The figure is filled with devotional ardour and tenderness. The dull colours are in keeping with the solemn sentiment of this beautiful example of medieval piety.

Dürer (1471–1528) was among the apprentices trained in Wolgemut's shop, and from this source he received the local pictorial traditions. But Dürer belonged to a generation beginning to free itself from provincialism, and his life was devoted to the endeavour to bring the Germanic inheritance into harmony with the ideals of the Italian Renaissance. It was a lifelong labour and one full of discouragement, but the change seen in comparing the confused works of his early years with some of his final paintings indicates a development toward breadth "unequalled by any career in Italy" (Ivins).

Although his consistent aim was "to orient German art towards the Italian Renaissance," the qualities and peculiarities of the Germanic people appear in a typical expression in the process. Like the great Italians, he sought to approach the subject of art scientifically. He formulated his theories in various treatises. He studied proportion and was "the first among the German painters to attempt to treat the human figure as an abstract problem of design," as may be illustrated in the "Adam and Eve"; but only in rare cases was he able to free himself from the literalism of vision which was his racial birthright.

We must here speak of Dürer's painting only, but this was not an art in which he excelled. His colour was seldom agreeable, and he never responded with any joy to the medium of paint. His métier was that of the engraver, and he was one of the greatest of all artists who have worked in black and white. Here he had free play for his "rugged strength, his restless vehemence and love of gnarled forms, writhing action, and agitated line," and here the complexities of his medieval mind found a sympathetic medium.

Dürer's independent career began about 1494. At this time he was intent upon the "accurate delineation of ungeneralized individual forms." Of this period, the Baumgärtner Altar (Pl. 51c) is a typical example and it is important to contrast with it his final works. Heraldic figures of St. George and St. Eustace flank the central picture of the "Adoration of the Shepherds," a quaint

conceit. A medieval ruin in abrupt perspective surrounds a kind of corridor where beneath a rough wooden shelter a bevy of merry angels sustains the miniature Babe. Toward this magnet all eyes are drawn and all feet tend. Joseph mounts steps in the immediate foreground, an aged inquirer followed by other figures thrusts his head in at the left, while two shepherds in earnest conversation approach from the distance, the younger man taking a last prodigious step to elevate him to the paved level. Mary kneels, complacently regarding the Child, while in the immediate foreground the minute figures of the donors act as ballast for the main group. With their winged head-dresses and decorated shields they are like tiny puppets come to life from some pack of playing-cards.

The picture is not homogeneous. The centralization upon the Child seems artificial, as if a mechanical force were assembling heterogeneous matter. There is no subordination and the awkward figure of Joseph disturbs a more ideal sentiment in the Mother and Child. The architecture is made up of harsh angles diverting attention from any grace developed in the figure groups. The only unifying line is that of the central arch and its echoes in the arcades at the right which are well related to the graceful lines of the Virgin's pose.

Portraits executed in this period were excellent. That of his father in the National Gallery is a vivid likeness. It shows a small-boned, close-knit face, very positive and determined and very wide-awake, with small keen eyes.

In 1506 Dürer visited Venice, and his receptiveness to a different esthetic ideal is evident at once, although rarely did he forget himself so entirely as in the "Portrait of a Lady" in Berlin (Pl. 52A). The modelling is broad and simple, the eyes are shadowed and dreamy, the forms have acquired a rich suggestiveness wholly unlike his usual style. No doubt this was an Italian model; the painter seems to have been captivated by her beauty. In the miniature panel of the crucified Saviour painted at this time, the nude figure shows a similar modification. It is rendered with great simplicity.

His most important painting during his stay in Venice was the "Feast of the Rose Garlands," executed for the German merchants of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. In an injured state it may still be seen in Prague. It is academic in composition and various motives are borrowed from the Venetian painters. Dürer himself felt that in this work he had successfully demonstrated that he was painter and colourist as well as worker in black and white. Beside contem-

(*A*) Master of St. Veronica. St. Veronica, Munich. (Bruckmann)

(*B*) Lochner. Madonna with the Violet. Priests Seminary, Cologne. (Bruckmann)

(*C*) Dürer. Baumgärtner Altar-piece. Munich. (Bruckmann)

(*D*) Dürer. St. John and St. Peter, Munich. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*A*) Dürer. Portrait of a Lady. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Dürer. Portrait of a Man. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*C*) Dürer. The Worship of the Trinity. Vienna. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

porary Venetian painting, it appears stilted and laborious, though a new consciousness of beauty is evident.

The regard in which the German master was held in Venice is proved by the offer of a pension made him by the Senate on condition that he would remain in that city. This was a remarkable tribute, since at this time Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian were all active in the service of the Republic. Dürer did not accept the invitation but he evidently dreaded the return to the old life. He writes from Venice, "Here I am a gentleman; at home I am only a parasite."

The famous portrait of himself in Munich seems to have been done at this time. It is a study in proportion. The features have been conventionalized and treated abstractly. "The portrait is less an iconographic document and more an artist program" (Michel). The painter's resemblance to the traditional type of Christ appears to have led to the formality of the pose and the alteration of the proportions to increase the impressiveness. The eyes are full of light, but they are very grave in expression. The colour is a rich harmony of browns.

Dürer's work as a painter at this time culminated with the "Adoration of the Trinity" (Pl. 52c), in which he abandoned the traditional Gothic altar-piece and treated the theme in one panel, thus giving added emphasis to the figure style. In general form, as well as in detail, it is Renaissance in style. As in the Venetian pictures, perfect accord is preserved between the painting and the frame, which Dürer himself designed. Germanic types abound, but the organic arrangement, the feeling for space, the richly balanced attitudes, and the painterly conception of the whole give proof of the application of the lessons of the Italian Renaissance.

For some years after Dürer's return from Italy, his painting was almost wholly laid aside. He was occupied with his scientific and theoretic writings and with the creation of some of his most famous plates.

Dürer's life was filled with small vexations at home, and with the anxiety caused by lack of funds. In 1520 the necessity for securing a renewal by Charles V. of the pension granted him by the Emperor Maximilian led to a journey to the Netherlands. Dürer kept a journal of this tour in which, mingled with insignificant details and minutiae, may be found his judgments on the older masterpieces and his comments on contemporary painters. Everywhere he was received with distinguished honours and en-

tertained by the leading Flemish painters. Michel considers that this trip stimulated again his interest in portraiture. Some of the greatest examples date from his return. In these studies of his fellow artists and the leading men of his day, he shows beautiful command of the structural side of his art, action in harmony with the character of his model, and in some of the later examples regard for the placing and pattern within the frame. No instance is finer in all these respects than the "Portrait of a Man" (Pl. 52B) in Madrid. These people, moreover, are vividly alive. Dürer's statement is unequivocal: "Here he is; he looked like this to me; I saw his outer physical man vividly; and often I gazed into his eyes and saw my brother's face."

Shortly before his death, Dürer painted two panels which he presented to the authorities of Nuremberg. At this time the artist was in deep sympathy with the Protestant cause and in this picture he has given a place of prominence to the Apostles particularly associated with the Reformation (Pl. 51D). "The Four Temperaments," a name sometimes given to these figures, emphasizes a quality lacking in Dürer's earlier work, namely, the evolution of ideal types as distinguished from the admirable portraits typical of the whole northern school. His St. Paul is a philosopher, but one on fire with life, for whom the book and the sword are appropriate symbols. How grandly dominant his figure is, and how simply the heavy folds of his mantle are arranged. The head of Mark emerging from the background has an almost fierce intensity. Peter, with his seamed face and bald head, is employed as a foil to the youthful St. John. Here, better than in any other single figure, has Dürer suggested a type of ideal beauty, the northern counterpart of Michelangelo's prophets.

The figures are life-sized, and they have been given a grandeur never before achieved in the painter's work. This canvas illustrates the change from his early admiration of complicated detail and gay colour to an expression simple and profound. "In mature years," Melanchthon says, "he began to look more entirely to nature, and tried to see her in her simplest form." He has made drastic changes in the direction of such large simplicity as the Italians valued. Michel finds in this picture the first successful union of Italian form with the interior life characteristic of German art.

In his writings we catch glimpses now and then of Dürer's personal character. The record he left of his mother's death reveals

the tender side of his nature. The words written from Venice prove how he chafed under the limitations of a small-town man. His concern for the welfare of the Protestant cause, dear to him in later life, rings out in his passionate appeal to Erasmus: "Thou knight of Christ, ride forth beside the Lord." "If Martin Luther is dead," he exclaims in his diary, "who will preserve for us Thy Holy Evangel?"

Intellectually, Dürer belonged to the Renaissance. His friends were the leading thinkers of the day. His mind was broadened by travel and observation and his interests were those of his Italian contemporaries. In Italy he eagerly sought out such men of scientific learning as Paceoli and like them he laboured on the problem of human proportion. In the field of art he is the typical figure of the Germanic people. He *is* Germany with its forests, its legends, its complexities, its moral ideals, its involved seeing. Like all northerners he saw too much and too clearly. Often he lost *form* in *forms*, and he seldom achieved simplicity. Even when his aim was some abstract idea, he had to reach it by circuitous ways. In his many-sidedness Dürer is as true a national figure as was Leonardo or Rembrandt. "Dürer in his art and in thoughts was the incarnation of those qualities of the German character and conscience which resulted in the Reformation" (Colvin).

CHAPTER XXVI

THE RENAISSANCE IN GERMANY: HOLBEIN

There are numerous secondary personalities who enrich the picture of German painting in the transitional years of the early sixteenth century, but they cannot be included here. One figure stands in the first rank, however, that of Matthias Grünewald (1485–1530), who, with Dürer and Holbein, constitutes the great trio of German painters.

Little is known of Grünewald's life or his training and few of his works exist. His reputation is established, however, by one painting, the famous altar-piece of Isenheim, now in the gallery at Colmar. This altar-piece has been called not only the chef-d'œuvre of Grünewald but of the art of Germany. The picture is so arranged that by different combinations of the wings three distinct themes may be illustrated.

The central position is occupied by a carved group of St. Anthony enthroned, flanked by sculptured saints. Scenes from his life occupy the wings. By folding the latter a new series of paintings is disclosed, the Annunciation, Nativity, and Resurrection. When the altar-piece is closed by folding the outer wings, one picture appears, the Crucifixion with saints at the sides (Pl. 53A).

Nothing more appalling can be imagined than this scene. All that is vulgar, coarse, and melodramatic in German art has been seized and by the force of genius made to enhance the sublime horror. The terrifying spectacle of the tortured figure no longer appears merely the representation of one suffering body but the anguish of all sentient Being writhing before one's eyes. The lines themselves seem to cry aloud. The forms are like metal, twisted and contorted in the heat of the furnace. The startling group of the Virgin and St. John, accentuated against the dark ground, suggests a lithograph by Goya both in design and in the quality of intensity. The figure of the Magdalen is conceived with intense passion. Similar jagged and contorted lines define the figures and trees in the scenes from the life of St. Anthony; but when the altar-piece is unfolded, to reveal the Joys of the Virgin, and we turn to the Nativity, it is like passing from some volcanic eruption to the smiling country of one's dreams, for not only are

(*A*) Grünewald. Crucifixion. Schongauer Museum. Colmar. (Bruckmann)

(*B*) Grünewald. Annunciation, Nativity, Resurrection. Schongauer Museum, Colmar. (Bruckmann)

(*C*) Holbein. Robert Cheseman. Royal Museum. The Hague. (Bruckmann)

(*A*) Holbein. Madonna with the Family of Mayor Meyer. Grand Ducal Palace, Darmstadt. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Schongauer. Madonna of the Rose Garden. St. Martin, Colmar. (Bruckmann)

(*C*) Holbein. Drawing. Portrait of the Lady Barkley, Windsor Castle. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*D*) Holbein. Anne of Cleves. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

the light and colour almost those of a mirage, but the celestial visitants are like fairy apparitions wandering into paradise from some German folk-tale (Pl. 53B).

Here the visions of Lochner and of Schongauer "attain their point of perfection." Grünewald's treatment of light so impressed Sandrart that he spoke of him as the German Correggio and he is regarded by Michel as one of the few German artists who deserve the name of painter. Light and colour are used with extraordinary effect in the apparition of the risen Christ. Few of the master's paintings have survived and of these only one or two are to be seen in the larger galleries, so that he will remain a painter known to comparatively few, but once seen his style can never be forgotten.

The school of the south of Germany, the Swabian school, had no dominant centre. The growth of art was contingent upon political and commercial developments. Constance and Basel were among the first towns to show an interest in art. In the Tyrol, the commercial intercourse between Italy and Germany which followed the trade route by way of the Brenner Pass sowed various seeds.

The most interesting result was the painting of Michel Pacher, which shows in its compositional types, its sculpturesque relief, and its perspective, direct contact with the Paduan school. The vigorous temperament of the artist is, however, dominant and his work has the strongest individual quality.

Flemish influence was strongly felt also. The style of Schongauer of Colmar is closely related to that of Roger van der Weyden. Schongauer was one of the most influential painters of his day and he was the "only German artist of the period whose reputation spread beyond the limits of his province and of his country" (Michel). The most famous of his paintings is the early "Madonna in a Rose Garden." The conception recalls the school of Cologne. The sentiment is tender and affectionate, but the naïveté and poesy of the early spirit are replaced by the gravity derived from Flemish sources, where the Virgin is always a conscientious mother. Flowing lines of drapery are arranged with an unusual regard for harmonious rhythm. Clambering roses form an all-over pattern behind the figures, and the high golden crown is sustained above the Virgin's head by miniature angels, who seem to vibrate in the eagerness of their service (Pl. 54B). But it was as an engraver that Schongauer held prominent rank, and his paintings show the forms and mannerisms peculiar to graphic art.

It was by way of "Augsburg—the gate of Italy—that the

Renaissance penetrated into Germany." The local school was late in developing and Hans Holbein the Elder (1460[?]–1524) was the first important painter. His early work was archaic and boorish, but at the close of his life the altar-piece of St. Sebastian (1515) shows great improvement. It is full of the charm of the late Middle Ages, modified by Flemish influence and by the forms of local sculpture. On the outer wings of the St. Sebastian altar-piece, the Annunciation is charmingly rendered. It is executed in a golden white monotone and with its ornate architectural settings suggests carved ivory. The draperies are contorted and flamboyant. Portraits occur in the paintings of the elder Holbein and in several instances admirable preparatory drawings survive. The talent for portraiture so highly developed in the son was therefore a natural inheritance.

A younger contemporary of Holbein the Elder, Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), is one of the best known German painters of the early sixteenth century. He spent some time in Italy and was impregnated with the ideals of the Renaissance. His "Coronation of the Virgin," painted in 1507, is "the first German painting in which Gothic ornament is replaced by Renaissance" (Michel). The "Madonna with the Grapes" (Nuremberg, 1509) shows a sophisticated grace thoroughly Italian in character. He is not always equally happy, as the mood of melancholy here so delicately suggested often becomes heavy and oppressive.

The young Holbein (1497–1543), was brought up under the influence of both these men. From his father he inherited the tradition of the German school and through Burgkmair he felt the stimulus of the Italian Renaissance. The transition from old to new was thereby facilitated as it was not in the case of Dürer, born some twenty years earlier.

The influence of Italian art on Holbein is so strong that a visit to the North Italian towns seems probable, although it is not proved. The ornate forms of his architectural backgrounds and the experiments in a point of sight above the eye suggest direct contact with Italy. Such indications of the interests of the Renaissance are combined in many of his early works with the coarse brutality of the Passion scenes, a combination of sentiment and melodrama. It is astonishing to find him almost at the same moment producing portraits distinguished by refinement of drawing and colour. So much of his early work has been destroyed that he is known almost exclusively as a portrait painter. In reality, his interests were widely varied. He left Augsburg

before his twentieth year and in the search for employment made his way to Basel, where he drew for the press and made the acquaintance of Erasmus. A little later we find him in Lucerne, imitating the Italian fashion of painting the exteriors of the houses. Again in Basel, he made designs for stained glass and for jewellery.

It was probably at this period also that he designed the woodcuts from the Old and New Testaments and the "Dance of Death," which within their miniature dimensions so perfectly exemplify the laws of composition that they might safely be enlarged to the dimensions of a wall decoration. "The 'Dance of Death' excels anything else done north of the Alps" (Ivins).

In 1522 Holbein painted a "Madonna Enthroned with Saints," impressive in its simplicity. Already the lineaments of his mature style are discernible, and in the later devotional picture executed in 1526 as a commission from Burgomaster Meyer he produced one of the most beautiful altar-pieces of the school (Pl. 54A). The easy grace of the picture contrasts with Dürer's contemporary panels of the "Four Temperaments," a triumph won after the struggle of a lifetime. The matronly figure of the Virgin is a little heavy in proportion, but her tender embrace of the Child contrasts charmingly with his lively, half playful action. The balance is admirably preserved in the kneeling groups, so dissimilar in character and in form. Burgomaster Meyer shows deep devotional feeling and the accompanying figures are almost Raphaelesque in freedom and beauty. The women on the right are united by an exquisite play of rhythmic curves. It would be difficult to name a group of donors in which veracity of portraiture is combined with such freedom of arrangement and such perfection of design. This is Holbein's masterpiece as a religious painter.

The civil disorders of the Reformation period made it difficult to gain a livelihood and in 1526 Holbein, provided with an introduction from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, left Germany to seek employment in England. Among the memorable records of this visit is the drawing in ink of More and his family in which Holbein "announces the collective portraits later typical of the Dutch School." It is an admirable solution of the problem of group portraiture. The figures are most happily combined and the forms of the background make a perfect setting. What infinite delight Ingres would have derived from the fine and delicate delineation!

Holbein returned to Basel only to find conditions increasingly unpropitious. "The fury of the iconoclasts was at its height—in one day almost all the religious pictures were destroyed." In

spite of commissions from the city government, he remained only a short time.

On his return to England his first work was done for the German merchants established in London. Portraits of this period show Holbein's interpretative power fully developed, while his composition has been enriched by the study of Flemish portraiture, especially the work of Massys. The portraits are characterized by greater interest in plasticity and less emphasis on problems of pure design than his later works. And yet the latter quality seems highly developed if we compare Holbein's portrait of Erasmus in the Louvre with that of Dürer. Dürer's drawing is jerky in effect. He suggests all the reflected lights and broken surfaces which he would preserve in the painting. Holbein's drawing is a line design in which he searches for continuity and connects, by line, forms which are separate in fact. One of the greatest beauties of this example is the sensitive drawing of the hands.

An excellent example of imponderability is the life-sized portrait of the "Archbishop of Canterbury" in the Louvre. Here interest in form and colour is pre-eminent. In the astronomer Kratzer (1520), the man of abstract ideas is interpreted. The mind is shown as master of the instrument. Even as he makes his formula, he pauses to look again into the law of causes. There is a certain profundity suggested in his simple large form. An interesting analysis of character is found in the portrait of "Godsalve and His Son" (Dresden). The experience, firmness, knowledge of the world in the older man with his genial expression, and the tentative, still unformed character of the son are kindlier in interpretation than Thackeray, but not less searching. The youth is interesting to compare with Titian's "Man with a Glove."

It was not until 1537 that Holbein became court painter to Henry VIII. In the six years remaining, many of his most widely known portraits were executed, for with few exceptions it was as a portrait painter that he was employed in England.

Every one is familiar with his method of designing his portraits in crayon. The drawings in Windsor have been reproduced in facsimile. They are unrivalled masterpieces of their kind, impeccable in draughtsmanship, sensitive in interpretation, and so impersonal that we may believe we are dealing with original documents uncoloured by an intervening personality. In each of these studies, the head and bust of the half-length figure is placed with unerring judgment. The costume of the period offers endless themes for design; now a novel play of crisp angles

is introduced; now the face is framed so that we may perceive the aristocratic features and the fine carriage of the head. Sometimes physiognomy itself becomes part of an almost abstract pattern. Again the meagre, pursed features give the cue for the abrupt lines of the head-dress. In one case the folded lines that simulate a wig are brought harshly against the middle-aged forehead; in another charm and vivacity are enhanced by delicate touches of colour (Pl. 54c). The ruddy countenance of Southwell is trenchantly drawn, and in this case, as in several others, the study may be compared with the painting—a comparison in which Holbein suffers less perhaps than any other painter.

The method, even in the highly finished paintings, is still a linear one. The unity of composition and the fine feeling for design are preserved. The colour adds distinction and the painting of detail is beautiful in execution, texture, and scale.

Among the finest paintings, varied types and methods may be illustrated. Supremely beautiful is the full-length figure of Christine, Duchess of Milan, a demure widow of twenty. The figure is life size; the soft satin of her black dress is laid in with simple firmness against the gobelin blue ground. An exquisite refinement and beauty speak from the canvas.

Anne of Cleves is a playing-card—the Queen. Her face bears little trace of experience or thought; she is an abstraction. Dressed in crimson velvet ornamented in gold, she appears in a frontal pose against the peacock blue ground. Holbein as a designer of jewellery could produce nothing finer than are the linear balance and the adjustment of scale in this human pattern (Pl. 54d).

"Robert Cheseman, the Royal Falconer," is one of the most perfect canvases. It has a refinement that seems to belong to the Latin rather than the Teutonic race. Construction, form, and relief are primary considerations. The head is a splendid study of planes. The textures throughout are beautiful, but the falcon's back is a marvel; the distinctive quality of each group of feathers is delineated (Pl. 53c).

A comparable work is the "Hubert Morett." The sumptuous costume and setting recall contemporary Venetian paintings. The very life of the man breathes from the preparatory sketch which hangs beside the portrait. The form and modelling are suggested in full with a few delicate touches. Holbein has kept the character in the painting but has narrowed the face slightly and lowered the shoulders so that the sitter seems less genial and more dignified. Chamberlain calls this the highest manifestation of Holbein's art.

The impersonality of Holbein's work relates him on the one hand to van Eyck, on the other to Velazquez. A man who can give physiognomy as he can without once obtruding any personal bias does wonderful things to stimulate the imagination. He makes one eager to read biography, to know how these men reacted to their time—what were their thoughts and their inward fears or aspirations.

No one of his models draws us so far into intimacy with a person as do Dürer's portraits. It is not his intention ever to be indiscreet; it might be said that he shows character as completely as it can be shown without interpreting the inner intimate soul. In this he differs widely from Dürer. He sees no less keenly (though he may look less deeply), but in his presentation he regards the convention, the formula, as of greater importance than do other Germans, and by this quality he approaches nearer the *Renaissance*.

In spite of characteristic Teutonic traits, Holbein is not *etch deutsch*. In a sense which applies to no other northerner he is a Renaissance master. He employs not a dialect but a universal language. Among all the productions of the German school, his portraits are pre-eminently distinguished by refinement and beauty. Holbein was exceptional in his ability to make wise use of the Renaissance influence. For most of his countrymen contact with Italy was disastrous, and until modern times German painting after the death of Dürer and Holbein has consisted largely of ambitious but futile attempts to embody the culture of another race.

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CHAPTER XXVII

RUBENS

The great creative period in western painting opened with the seventeenth century. With a few notable exceptions, the art of the sixteenth century in Flanders was either reminiscent or preparatory. Now a new epoch was ushered in, one that it is not easy for us to understand. Its ostentation is too frank and self-satisfied, its animalism too outspoken. Both qualities are present in our own day, but they are displayed with greater subtlety and appear in what we consider better form.

In all the arts, the logic of the early structural style now gave place to pictorial effects expressive of the new day. The Renaissance period was succeeded by the Baroque. The spirit was impetuous, the ornamentation redundant.

Rubens (1577–1640) was the protagonist of this movement. Our initial impression of him is one of distaste because he does not use our conventional speech, but he was the spokesman of his day. The figure of Rubens is one of the most triumphant in the history of art. His schooling and his early life as a page equipped him for his career as diplomat and courtier. Encouraged by his local master of painting, he went to Italy, where his work during eight years included the copying of Venetian paintings. His command over large surfaces and his training as a decorator kept him in constant demand when he returned to Antwerp in 1608. There he became wealthy and prosperous. After the death of his first wife his professional work was interrupted for a few years during which he was engaged on diplomatic embassies which took him to Madrid and London.

Rubens was a great artist, but he was also a broad-gauge man, experienced by travel and contact with men and affairs of the world, a trusted diplomat in support of the Catholic faith and the Spanish crown, and a cultivated classical enthusiast. He took life easily, and his ability to play the game as it unfolded before him was perhaps the secret of his success. He always drew the right cards. His daily habits and his intellectual interests pointed to a balanced and self-possessed mind, scarcely to be predicated from his canvases. The quotation from Juvenal which he in-

scribed on his palace seems the best key to his character: "Happiness is to be found in ordering one's life with the ruling of the gods, preserving a sound mind in a sound body, free from desires and careless of the terrors of death." It might truly be said of him that the "hand of the artist was directed to inscribe a line in the history of the age." He felt everything exuberantly. His energy was unflagging. His physical preferences were those of the Flemish people, and he was sufficiently independent to make over the lessons derived from Italy into an art thoroughly Flemish and yet in no sense provincial.

Rubens was not only the logical successor of the Venetian school of colour, but he was the medium of its expansion to express the ideas of a new age. Only twenty-five years after Titian laid down his brush, Rubens seized it and set his palette with the same saturated colours. These he moulded into the plastic substance by which he expressed the forces of life. The expansion of his style was continuous but not rapid. His creative work merely tapped the supply of his reserve force, which appears to have been inexhaustible. The famous altar-pieces that established his popularity on his return from Italy, such as the "Raising of the Cross" and the "Descent from the Cross," show the heavy tones and emotionalism of the late Bolognese. His naturalism did not at once transcend that of his masters, but as the synthetic character of his art developed the specific forms of nature gradually were subordinated.

The popular success of these and similar commissions brought a rush of new orders and at the same time requests on the part of an increasing number of pupils eager for his instruction. Rubens brought business ability of a high order to bear upon this situation. His pupils and assistants were organized into a commercial house for the making of pictures. The impersonality of his professional methods and his insight into the capacity of his helpers assured the success of this organization, which was the development on a large scale of the bottega system of earlier days. He became hundred-handed. The design was his own; the amount of work which he executed on the final canvas depended upon the price paid, as his clients well understood. The wholesale production of pictures in the following decade is a monument to his tireless invention of motives for this kind of work. If he did not execute half of the canvases accredited to him, his was the invention without which they would not have come into being.

Every subject was required of him. A long list would be neces-

(*A*) Rubens. Christ bearing the Cross. Royal Museum, Brussels. (Bruckmann)

(*B*) Velazquez. Queen Mariana. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*C*) Rubens. Kermis. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*A*) Rubens. Assumption of the Virgin. Cathedral, Antwerp

(*B*) Rubens. Henri IV receives the Portrait of Marie de' Medici. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*C*) Rubens. Landscape. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

sary even to enumerate the classifications under which his work would fall. But most important were the religious pictures, the allegories and subjects from classical mythology, the portraits, and the landscapes.

As an ardent Catholic, active at the moment when the Jesuits were repairing the ravages of Protestant iconoclasm, he filled orders for altar-pieces of dimensions hitherto unknown in the Flemish school. These include a wide range of subjects, but two types are particularly representative, scenes of martyrdom and scenes of triumph. Both apparently were executed with equal relish. With what gusto he painted the writhing of the tortured! Executioners did their grim work in a whole-hearted fashion and physical anguish was none the less acute for the martyrs' visions of paradise to come.

The atrocious subject of the "Martyrdom of Bishop Lievin" in Brussels is a magnificent spectacle. Reduced to compositional pattern, it might be thought to represent great trees rocking in the wind. From across the gallery, the sweep of colour is superb. We need not inquire what object furnished the painter with his central note of crimson. This colour is echoed and blended through the whole canvas. The sequence of colour suggests Turner rather than Titian. The painting of the nude man in the foreground, the bishop's magnificent mantle, and the horse are particularly notable.

The "Ascent of Calvary" shows the triumph of the Roman forces. The eye can with difficulty linger on the episode of St. Veronica and the fallen Saviour, so impelling is the impetuous sweep of the cavalcade. Here the lowering skies and clouds in movement serve as interpretative elements (Pl. 55A).

In such scenes, the reality which makes us identify ourselves first with one actor and then with another is almost revolting. Yet for him, one feels, it was "all in the day's work." Like Veronese he seems to say, "But this is the way these things happen!" Who but a seventeenth century painter would have shown Judith in the very act of pressing the sword through the neck of Holofernes?

Rubens' power of gripping the imagination gives his pictures of triumphs, on the other hand, a force which cannot be vitiated even when, as in the "Assumption," his types are inadequate. The masses of colour and tone follow the spiral-diagonal of seventeenth century design, which is better fitted to interpret this exultant theme than the more restricted movement of the preceding age (Pl. 56A).

Not only did the churches require pictures of great dimensions, but the palaces and the pretentious houses of the seventeenth century included as a characteristic architectural feature a great gallery intended for the richest decoration. This was necessarily on a scale to correspond with the dimensions found throughout the house. The scale thus imposed upon the painter should be taken into account in judging paintings or tapestries of this period removed from their original settings.

Marie de' Medici, Regent of France, who had recently completed the Luxembourg Palace, summoned Rubens to Paris to decorate the gallery.[1] This first foreign commission initiated a whole class of allegorical pictures popular throughout the century. Rubens treated the episodes of Marie de' Medici's life in a series of twenty-one canvases, in which he set the standard of taste for such work.

In Munich may be seen the incomparable sketches by the master. The decorations show the collaboration of assistants though the foreground figures were in general executed by Rubens himself (Rooses). Marie de' Medici's life is presided over by the Greek gods, who are shown mingling with men and directing their course. Rubens "perpetrated this anachronism with an authority and a magic," Rooses says, "which make it the masterpiece of decorative art."

"Henry IV. receiving the portrait of Marie de' Medici" (Pl. 56B) is one of the most successful of the series in combining historic and mythological actors. The elegant figure of Henry is expressive in action and the mind follows willingly the suggestion of the controlling influence of the gods in his decision. The ease with which the principal parts are done, the lack of insistence on any one thing, the melting tone of the whole, and its painterly qualities reveal the work of Rubens' own hand.

A similar life of Henry IV. was projected at this time but never realized. In a later period Rubens made rough sketches of certain incidents from the life of Henry IV. and proved in his larger draughts of two subjects his supreme mastery of this type of work. In a small panel in the Wallace Collection, a first sketch for the "Triumph of Henry IV." may be studied. It is painted almost without body colour and looks like the preparation for a miniature on porcelain. An analysis of the composition as design shows the scientific method by which mass movement

[1] The decoration was completed in 1625 for the marriage of Henrietta Maria and Charles I. of England.

is suggested. The parts are bound together like the links of a chain and momentum results from the regular expansion and contraction of the wedge-shaped masses as the procession pushes forward. To be grouped with these works are the "Triumphs of the Eucharist," which show his full exuberance. They were intended as cartoons for tapestry, an art in which Rubens' influence revolutionized the type of design.

From first to last, classical mythology was an inexhaustible source of inspiration. Among the early paintings are a number composed of half-length figures, such as the "Diana Returning from the Chase" (Dresden) and the "Triumph of Silenus," (National Gallery) London. The robustness of design and execution redeem them from sensuality. Note in the Silenus the marvellous painting of the rolls of flesh on this exultant, rollicking Santa Claus! There is something exhilarating in the supple flow of the paint. Out of the indescribable depth of the shadow at the right emerge satyr heads, copper-coloured under the strong illumination of the torch they carry. The handling of this motive serves to illustrate Rubens' primarily pictorial feeling. He is not concerned with the delineation of realistic illumination but uses it as an opportunity for the purely artistic rendering of light, atmosphere, and colour.

Both conception and composition are admirably illustrated in the early "Venus and Adonis" (Bingham Coll. lent to the Metropolitan Museum since 1919). It is perfect story-telling. The impetuous energy of the hunter whose dogs point the way to the chase is contrasted with the languishing appeal of the goddess. The figures are set against a background into which are laid the tumultuous clouded sky and landscape elements metamorphosed from Titian.

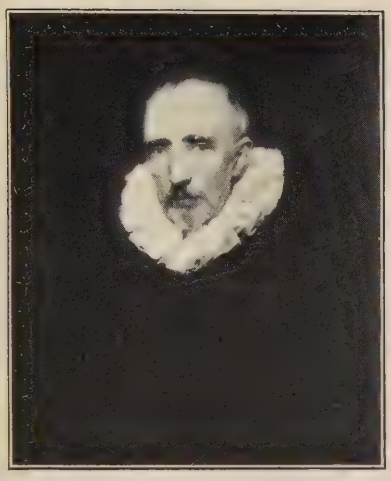
In this instance, the placing of the two figures on the same plane enables the painter to use a bold foreshortening with the minimum expenditure of depth, so that freedom of action is combined with decorative flatness of design. This device, of which he makes repeated use, must be comprehended before we can appreciate the quality of design which sets his art apart from that of every other painter of the period. The picture of Silenus introduced us to a characteristic method of composition which can hardly be emphasized too strongly: Rubens' use of thrust and counter-thrust, the interplay of resistances which conveys the idea of life energy. It is even better illustrated in the present instance. The essential value of the design rests on the play of plastic forces built up as logically as the balanced

thrusts which hold a Gothic church in equilibrium. The masses are not inert but dynamic. We may trace the evolution of this play of plastic forces through Titian and the later Italians, but it reached its highest expression in Rubens.

This type of design may be contrasted with the symmetrical scheme used by Raphael, which finds its architectural counterpart in the post and lintel construction—a construction built for eternity, in contrast to that depending on the arch, which, as the oriental proverb tells us, never sleeps.

The "Rape of the Sabine Women" is a more complex example of the same method. The elements of the composition are as completely subordinated to the plastic design of colour and light, as are the women to their captors. Groups are bound together by sweeping spiral curves; momentum is resisted by counteraction so that the equilibrium is energized. Forms swim in an amber undertone. The relation of warm and cool colour suggests the pulsation of actual light. It is an example of the breadth of handling of Rubens' late period. It is like Veronese gone mad with wine. Only Veronese could not have felt things in this way unless he had had a Rip Van Winkle sleep and awakened in a new century.

In Rubens' late period, subjects from Greek mythology received a new impetus as a result of his marriage, with "Helen of Flanders," regarded by her contemporaries as "far more beautiful than Helen of Troy." In the "Judgment of Paris" (National Gallery, London; Pl. 58B), he shows us the characteristic beauty of the female form seen from the back, the front, and the side. The back of Juno is a marvel. It is as beautiful as a Greek marble, and the treatment recalls the comment of La Farge: "His drawing is a mighty one, understood in a greater way than that of a small accuracy. He is a master of planes and of distance and his study of sculpture developed a sense too often lacking in what is called good drawing: that of the existence of the other side of things which we do not see." The figures are loosely garlanded through the picture. The ruddy flesh of the male figures and the creamy gold of the goddesses form the chief notes of contrast against the background of trees in atmospheric haze. The grey-clouded sky shows a touch of gold at the horizon. The forward impulsion of the group at the right carries the eye over to the chosen figure, who unveils herself with a gesture as of Beauty triumphant. The superb resonance of Juno's crimson mantle is the most intense note of colour. The copper glint of



(*A*) Van Dyck. Portrait of Van der Geest. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*B*) Van Dyck. Marchesa Durazzo. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Van Dyck. Betrayal. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*D*) Van Dyck. Charles I. Louvre, Paris

(*A*) Velazquez. The Hermits. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*B*) Rubens. Judgment of Paris. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

the peacock's tail suggests his splendour, while it is kept severely subordinated. These women, made of "milk and blood," as one Flemish critic admiringly affirms, are, perhaps, too florid for our taste. It is repulsive to be obliged to realize our bodies in their bodies. But we must remember as we analyse them that they are only one element in Baroque design. The curve of every architectural form and contour compels a corresponding fulness in the human figure. The woman must be Baroque, full-blooded, full-limbed, full-hipped, a physical giant.

Rubens had his race's interest in all the buffoonery, the drollery, the sensuality of peasant life, its sweat and smell and fecundity. It is all shown in a hundred episodes in the "Kermis," where the merry-makers roll and tumble like kittens at play. Seen at a distance (mentally of time, pictorially of space), they all take their place in the movement which is life itself. In his painting this is expressed by the kaleidoscopic rotation of prismatic colour, accented strongly to give it rhythmic continuity (Pl. 55c).

It is not possible here to discuss Rubens as a portrait painter. This did not call into play his most extraordinary powers, although he executed many wonderful canvases, as, for instance, the beautiful portrait of "Marie de' Medici" in Madrid. Among the most pleasing examples are those of Helena and her children. In the unfinished canvas in the Louvre, the tone is molten gold, an underpainting drawn in, scumbled in, swept in, apparently without a thought of method. It is more like a beautiful piece of Venetian glass than anything else. The exuberance of the painter is at white heat.

Landscape backgrounds formed a setting for Rubens' subjects throughout his career, but especially in his last period he studied the emotional effects of out-of-doors as pictorial motives in themselves. Although (according to Cox) Rubens was a classicist, he was a man of the north—and the non-static elements, movement and flux, colour and vibration were what he derived from Titian and amplified in his own way. "Rubens introduced the troubled and tumultuous life of Flanders into the rhythms of the South" (Faure). His eye was keen to mark the pulsation of colour and light. Form he revealed through the accidents of illumination, and he conveyed its sensuous quality in a more modern way than any painter of the century. His fluid pigment and his opalescent colour were immense assets in landscape painting.

For the first time, landscape was seen in and for itself. In

transcribing it he preserved the lovely aspect in which its poetry was revealed to him without being deflected to a transcription of fact. Transitory effects of light were his constant study. He was one of the rare men who could capture clouds and rainbow. Every one else makes them static. They pose for the painter and as he materializes them they no longer remain works of the Creator. This is not so with Rubens; the clouds are all alive with light, the rainbow shimmers—light rather than colour—and the shadow of the storm-cloud picks out the conformation of the hill as it moves overhead (Pl. 56c).

In the example in the Louvre, the sun breaks in mild radiance above the valley as the clouds, vibrating in its light, sweep upward across the horizon line. The loose brushing binds the forms together as the light unifies the atmosphere. The real subject of the picture is always movement and light.

Rubens was the product of north and south and the artist whose shadow was cast forward well into the eighteenth century. As an artist everything was grist to his mill. His process of design would allow no omissions, no restrictions, no refinements. Natures like Rubens with their wholesome coarseness are capable of infusing new fecundity into a dying style. Like a kind of Walt Whitman, he seized whatever nature offered in overflowing measure and made of her redundancy, of her profusion, a new type of design perfectly suited to the taste of his day. "Of all men who have expressed themselves in the art of painting, Rubens had the widest sympathy for the whole of life" (La Farge). His paintings need surroundings like those of his own palace before we can estimate them properly. Our spaces are too small, our outlook too curtailed altogether, to respond to his easy emotionalism or his pagan sensuousness. Rooses says: "In our own day we have seen the rebirth of his conception of nature and the love of light and truth, but not of his sovereign might."

Rubens' crowning achievement as a painter was reserved for his last years, when, retiring to his country estate, he painted the thing as he saw it, "for the God of things as they are." These are the pictures to study first if we would know Rubens. The evolution of his style can easily be comprehended as we work backwards from them step by step. But Rubens' genius cannot be grasped in the study of a few selected examples. One must turn over the leaves of his *Œuvres complètes* if only to be overwhelmed by his production—his prodigal expenditure. Saturate yourself until you can no longer receive impressions and then

estimate how much you have not yet seen. The style is oppressive and is almost insupportable when it is executed by assistants, but the master himself takes you off your feet, expands your powers, opens new beauties before your eyes . . . appears as he is, one of the giants among painters.

CHAPTER XXVIII

VAN DYCK AND LATER FLEMISH PAINTERS

Although van Dyck (1599–1641) was younger by twenty-two years than Rubens, his activity very nearly coincided with the master's. As early as 1613 he was Rubens' assistant and was doing the major part of many important pictures which have until very recently been credited to the older master in spite of definite statements on his part that they were the work of van Dyck. A notable example is the picture in Madrid, "Achilles and the Daughters of Lycomedes," painted before his twentieth year.

Among the early figure pieces several stand out as pre-eminent: the powerful "Mocking of Christ" (Berlin), the "St. Martin" (Windsor), and the "Betrayal" (Madrid). The Betrayal (Pl. 57c) shows van Dyck's highest conception of a religious subject. It has the promise of a great dramatic style and the spontaneity of youth. The movement is enriched by light and colour. The romance of the night in a garden is hinted at, and the quiet of nature, suggested by the distant moon, makes an effective contrast to the violence of the action, thrown into sudden prominence by the fire of the white-gold torch. Lines of opposition in arms and glinting weapons make strong diagonals across the diamond-shaped area to which the main action is confined. Christ's head, alone facing the spectator, is seen in full illumination. His slim young figure, his calm in the midst of tumult, command immediate attention. After Giotto this is perhaps the finest interpretation of the Betrayal. The preparatory sketch (Cook Collection, Richmond), is especially strong and harmonious in colour—green-blues, intense golden ochres, crimson, and black, varied by the marvellous texture of the armour and the deep Indian red flesh tones.

Van Dyck was occupied with a variety of subjects and had no intention at first of specializing as a portrait painter. But Rubens recommended him for some such commissions and his special qualifications were early demonstrated. If the dating of the portrait of van der Geest is authoritative, it was done in his twenty-first year (Pl. 57a). This is an astonishing achievement. It is a

masterpiece of sound draughtsmanship and sober, sympathetic characterization. It shows a command of his medium not equalled by Rubens at so early an age. It was fate pressing commissions upon him, however, rather than choice, which determined his career, and the fame of his portraits has, in our day, obscured much work of high excellence.

As early as 1620 van Dyck was invited to England as court painter by James I., but he remained only three months. Several years following 1620 he spent in Italy. Admiration for the Italian masters had been aroused before van Dyck went to Italy, and the time spent there gave him enlarged opportunities for studying the art and the people. His career as portrait painter began in Genoa, where commercial interests had attracted a large group of Flemish tradespeople. Van Dyck possessed a natural distinction and a sensitiveness to beauty denied to most of his countrymen. This made him a sympathetic interpreter of the Italian people, and in his portraits of the Genoese nobility we are not conscious of any alien element. These canvases justify Claude Phillips's remark that van Dyck "approached more nearly to the Venetians at their highest than any other painter born north of the Alps."

A number of these portraits are now in American collections. The "Marchesa Durazzo" (Pl. 57B) has an atmosphere of romantic languor. Deep crimson played against black sets off the delicate ivory flesh tones. The small, compact bony structure characteristic of the Italians is well observed. The eyes are deep set and the dusky hair softens the contours in a manner quite at variance with Flemish fashions.

In one instance, the "Marchesa Elena Grimaldi" (Widener Collection), the lady descends through a splendid columnar porch. More frequently, only the high pedestals of columns are shown. This stage setting was borrowed from the Venetians and passed on by van Dyck to the English portrait painters, to reappear in the new world as the stock-in-trade in the eighties of the photographers, against whose painted backgrounds New England housewives were posed for their photographs.

Van Dyck visited Rome during his stay in Italy and painted the distinguished picture of Cardinal Bentivoglio now in the Pitti. Returning to Flanders about 1626 he made a short stay in his native city, but soon left to take up his residence in England, where he remained as court painter to Charles I. from 1632 until his death.

The bulk of his religious painting was done while he was established in Antwerp. He was under the influence of the Jesuits and his altar-pieces were intended primarily to appeal to the emotions. They are calculated tableaux, yet they are effective, superficial as their sentiment appears to be. The figures have a more conventional form and posture than those of Rubens and the traditional and idealistic element is more evident. The Virgin is closely related to late Italian works.

The "Pietà" gave him his best opportunity. The great Mother with outstretched arms and heaven-appealing eyes, forms a support for the rather coldly academic body of the Lord. The auxiliary figures fall into the prearranged scheme and produce a grandiloquent result. Sometimes the subject is treated in an upright shape, sometimes in a low rectangle and the adaptation of forms to space shows the work of an accomplished composer. In the example in Antwerp the composition in the low rectangle is particularly successful and the drama effectively set forth.

These works have not, as a rule, called forth sufficient genuine feeling either in conception or in execution to overmaster us, as do even the least acceptable creations of Rubens. It is as portrait painter that van Dyck occupies a unique place, and the number produced after his return from Italy would suffice to occupy an ordinary lifetime. Three enchanting women's portraits may be mentioned here: the "Anna Wake" (Hague), "Maria Louisa de Tassis" (Vienna), and "Beatrice de Cusance" (Windsor).

The "Anna Wake," signed and dated 1628, elegant and refined, is at the same time painted without virtuosity and is altogether satisfying as a work of art. The colour effect depends upon the delicate transitions from the mealy flesh tones to the ivory muslin over the neck and the sheer lace of cuffs and collar through which the blacks of the dress are shown.

Van Dyck has enough of convention, i. e., pattern, to make him think of each area of colour value ornamentally. The gymnastics of the eye passing back and forth from his crimsons to his blacks are invigorating. Texture contrasts are cunningly contrived to produce a similar stimulant. The starched edges of the ruffs sting; the Italian velvets caress; the liquid pearls entice; and the face, perhaps somewhat vacuous, is given delicate charm as it rises from the ruff, like a flower from its calyx.

Van Dyck employed assistants, probably beginning the practice before he left Antwerp. At the time of his death, it had developed into a cut-and-dried process described by a contemporary,

who tells of the rotation of sitters, each bowed out at the end of the hour. Assistants executed the costumes sent in for the purpose, and members of his household, male and female, furnished models for the hands. The account suggests quantity production rather than the creation of works of art.

In examples of the English period, evidences of collaboration are often apparent, but many masterpieces were produced also, and through the painter's eyes we may still visualize the chief personages of this period preceding the Civil War in England. Charles I was painted not by van Dyck only, but was well and truthfully depicted by other artists, yet every person who hears the king's name sees him as the elegant, debonair sovereign whom van Dyck immortalized. One of the greatest of royal portraits is the "Charles I." of the Louvre (Pl. 57D). Walking away from his mount and groom, the king pauses for a moment and turns toward the spectator. His head, slightly thown back, is framed in the darks of the hair and hat. It is an elegant, neat, well groomed, and crisp silhouette, and the interest of the personality suffices to balance the mass of dark forms at the right. Against a characteristic grey cloud-patterned sky, the white satin doublet shimmers from pewter to ivory, brilliantly but soberly painted, without the least attempt to astonish. It is as beautiful as satin can be. The red breeches are a quiet rose terra-cotta, the warmth of this tone being carried into the brown-red of the groom and the flesh colour of the cloak. The foliage is all in sombre greyed greens.

Of exceptional interest is the profile of "Henrietta Maria" (Windsor). It shows her well shaped head, large nose, strong jaw, and the mouth with the pronounced under lip. Her full face in the double portrait with the king (Euston Hall) exhibits the broad brow and wide-spaced eyes.

Distinction is invariably a quality of van Dyck's canvases. He seems never to have failed to give royalty its due, sometimes by very ingenious means. The portrait of the "Duke of Lenox" (Metropolitan Museum) illustrates his method. The compact group is well placed within the space and he has taken care to show the body beneath the splendid costume. The angle of the shoulder is silhouetted against a lighted pilaster, the position of the hip is explained by the placing of the hand, while the further contour of the body is defined by the dog as he presses against his master's side. Indescribable differences of texture in silken hair and silken hose, lace collar, and gold braid, delight the eye. But the highest significance and beauty of the picture are found

in the magnificent animal whose body throbs with life and whose devotion has been utilized by the painter to suggest the presence of qualities in his master not apparent to the casual observer.

If we think that van Dyck was invariably a flatterer, it is interesting to know that not all his sitters would agree. Cust quotes one critical old lady who, although she acknowledged that the picture resembled her, remarked ruefully—"tho' i bee ill favoured i think that makes me wors than i am."

One of the most delightful of van Dyck's subjects was child portraiture. Titian had painted a few portraits of children but the theme became popular only in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. In the Genoese period, van Dyck produced such splendid canvases as that of the Balbi children with their glowing crimson and vermilion costumes, against a handsome dark ground. This contrasts with the first and loveliest painting of the Stuart children, that in Turin. Velvets are replaced here by satins and laces; the delicate tones of grey-blue and white are contrasted with the crimson costume at the left (Pl. 61c).

Van Dyck was essentially a painter of society; he seldom ventured outside the court circle. But he gave the world of fashion which posed for him an elegance, beauty, and distinction which no other period can equal. The painter was sensitive to the individual model and to the social ideal of which he was the expression. This he embodied without violating his integrity as an observer. Bode says, "In portraiture Van Dyck approaches, or even takes full rank with, the greatest masters of this art." His influence was not confined to England; it was strong on the continent. Nor was it restricted to his own time, for it inspired the eighteenth century painters. As a colourist, his effects in his early years were splendid and glowing, in his English period paler and more delicate. His technique erred only by a facility which sometimes carries a suggestion of virtuosity.

Rubens and van Dyck are almost unavoidably thought of in comparative terms. The interests and technical experiments of Rubens increased every year, while those of van Dyck contracted. He had not the vitality of the great master and a certain anaemic quality appearing in his later painting reflected a defect of character. The robust and hearty Rubens with his zest for life is "like a great figure from antiquity," while the sensitive, high-strung van Dyck is "a romanticist almost in the modern sense."

Two painters of such exceptional genius and of such rich pro-

ductivity overshadowed or absorbed the art of their contemporaries. A number of good painters were the assistants or collaborators of Rubens, supplying landscape backgrounds, animals, or still-life motives in his large canvases. Some of them, as Frans Snyders (1579–1657), produced excellent independent work along specialized lines.

Other painters discovered that an independent style found few admirers because of the universal desire for works in the vein made popular by the great master. The most able and versatile of these was Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), who early in life became an imitator of Rubens and carried on his style until his death, 1678. He was a vigorous realist and an artist almost equalling Rubens in the diversity of his themes but all alike he depicted from the standpoint of the peasant class. He did religious pictures, portraits, classic myths (generally interpreted as genre), and many compositions illustrating the festivals or merry-making of the common people. He was a sound and vigorous painter and a good colourist, although often his range of colour was hot.

Portraiture is best represented in the work of Justus Sustermans (1597–1681) and of Philippe de Champagne (1602–1674), who in Paris embodied the self-conscious elegance of the French court in such types as "Richelieu" (Louvre). Gonzales Coques (1618–1684) was the creator of unaffected family groups of much charm.

Much brilliant technical skill of the century was devoted to scenes of peasant life. Adriaen Brouwer's (1606–1638) brief career, which began nearly thirty years later than Rubens', was ended by his early death in 1638. He chose the most unsavoury side of peasant life and showed particular delight in tavern orgies and brawls. His peasants, Rooses says, are "dull, brutal, foolish, and only wake up to shout and to fight like people possessed, or epileptics." But he was a brilliant technician and Rooses calls him "one of the most marvellously gifted of all Flemish artists." Such a picture as the "Brawl" (Dresden) in its daring and angular shapes, in its admirable observation and rendering of violent action, in its pattern of light and shadow, and in its audacious handling suggests the works of Goya.

David Teniers the younger (1610–1690) was a typical member of the school, yet "it might be said that his art is almost at its best in copying on a small scale the work of other and greater masters (as the Venetian Bassano)" (Rankin). His subjects changed with his own growth of prosperity and embrace both the

common people and the bourgeois class. His art was at its height between 1640 and 1650, when the influence of both Brouwer and Rubens is apparent. His work declined after that period with the waning fortunes of the country.

Teniers' pictures sometimes err on the side of monotony, and the real beauty of touch and execution is realized only on close examination. The general tone and main relationships were first established; then the whole was varied by more brilliant touches or by more intense hues, the latter being dispersed through the canvas to produce a proper balance. Like Rubens, Teniers acquired a villa in the country and took the greatest interest in representing his groups of revellers in landscape setting.

By these and numerous other painters the native tendencies which had been authoritatively laid down in the work of Rubens and van Dyck were echoed through the century. But the great impulse under which this movement had been initiated in the opening years of the seventeenth century finally collapsed and the school remained in a condition of decadence from which it has revived only in recent years, when Flemish gifts of colour and technique have once more appeared in the exquisite painting of fashionable life by Alfred Stevens (1828–1906).

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE SPANISH SCHOOL

The peninsula of Spain is cut off from the European continent by the magnificent barrier of the Pyrenees and at its southern extremity almost touches the African coast. As early as the end of the eighth century the country was overrun and conquered by the Mohammedans who established themselves in various strongholds, particularly in the south. Christian Spain therefore faced the problem of ridding the country of heretic invaders. Much was accomplished during the fourteenth century, but unified action was difficult of achievement in a land corrugated with mountains and parcelled out among numerous small rulers. Granada still remained in the hands of the Moors. With the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469, the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, each of which had already absorbed numerous sovereignties, were united. In order further to consolidate their rule, a fresh campaign was undertaken against the invaders, and in 1492 the age-long struggle ended with the fall of Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors in Spain.

Throughout this period, painting flourished in different parts of the country, but in the main it showed dependence on foreign influence. That of Italy was paramount during the fourteenth century and Sienese characteristics derived from Avignon were dominant. In the fifteenth century importations of Flemish works increased and gave rise to a Hispano-Flemish school which persisted side by side with the Italian style. It is not necessary to discuss examples, for the history of painting in Spain to the middle of the sixteenth century is obscure and belongs rather to archaeological research than to esthetic studies. Beruete says of the early school: "Most of its productions are of doubtful paternity, its style is borrowed and is distinguished in general only by characteristics of a minor kind."

As the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella marked the consummation of political aims of long standing, it also laid foundations which profoundly affected the later destinies of the country. It was at this time that a national Inquisition was established by the rulers and that Spain, hitherto lukewarm in her attitude

towards heresy, announced herself as the champion of the papacy and the inflexible scourge of heretics. Intolerance and insensitiveness to pain became national traits. The high favour in which Spain was regarded by the papacy resulted, after the discovery of the new continent in the west, in so advantageous a disposition of territory that untold wealth flowed into the royal coffers and contributed to the phenomenal rise to power during the next fifty years.

Early in the sixteenth century, the king, Charles I., grandson and successor of Ferdinand, was elected Emperor as Charles V. The country was thus drawn into European politics. The height of Spanish power was reached during the reign of Philip II., but the kingdom which had so suddenly risen to prominence declined with alarming rapidity. While Philip II. was still on the throne, the Spanish Armada was destroyed, the first event in a long chapter of calamities which left the country in a state of exhaustion by the middle of the seventeenth century. During this period, Spanish painters continued to practise a style based on foreign types. Philip followed the example of his father in securing pictures from the leading Venetian painters, especially Titian; and some of the greatest masterpieces, both Italian and Flemish, which formed the nucleus of the present collection in the Prado, he assembled at this time. The building of the Escorial led to an ambitious plan for its decoration, but Philip was unable to persuade Italian painters of the first importance to make the journey to Spain and the results fell far short of his expectations.

It was in the art of another foreigner, however, that the peculiar traits of the Spanish people were finally realized. Domenico Theotocopuli (1545–1614), known from his birth in Crete as El Greco, became the interpreter par excellence of the Spanish race. After some years of Italian training spent in Rome and Venice, he settled about 1575 in Toledo. This ancient capital of Spain, was a city "ruled by the savage, gloomy or ecstatic passions of the Middle Ages, where there had been no revival of learning, no liberation of the human spirit" (Mather). Upon his coming into this atmosphere after his contact with Italian culture, the full force of the contrast made a lasting impression on his sensitive nature. He drew from the soil of Spain the intense adherence to Catholic dogma which had been bred into a nation at warfare for centuries with heretic invaders, and he in his art succeeded to an extraordinary degree in revealing spiritual aspirations through material form.

The early paintings of El Greco clearly show Italian influence, as the splendid "Assumption of the Virgin," in Chicago, where we recognize Titian's pupil. The picture could never be mistaken for the work of an Italian, however. It is distinguished by an abrupt angularity and harshness in the drawing and by the originality of the colour.

In "Christ Cleansing the Temple," of which El Greco executed several variants, the style is more individual. In the example in Richmond, his Christ is a fanatic. He wields his knotted cords like scorpions. The sharp contrasts of light and shade, making jagged movements like lightning through the canvas, further emphasize the emotional turmoil. The colour scheme originated with Tintoretto, but El Greco's atmospheric effects are almost modern. The intense blue of the sky is carried through the central group and played against deep mulberry. The vibration between these colours makes the whole picture pulsate with atmosphere.

The painter's mature style is well illustrated in the "Crucifixion" (Pl. 59B). Cataclysm is the subject here as it was with Cimabue. What a setting this would make for a penitential liturgy! The emotional tension is extreme. The tumultuousness affects the mind. El Greco is too refined and intellectual to feature the bodily torture which is to assume a preponderant place in Spanish painting of the next generation. Nor is he primarily naturalistic. He seems to be attempting the almost impossible feat of transmuting sense elements into their psychic or spiritual equivalents. The picture plane is corrugated with the swift alternation of light and shade, by which he suggests the attenuated vibrations of a world beyond that of sense. The saints burn with fierce, medieval ardour. Scurrying clouds break the blue-black sky, and the angel whirring into light hails the Redeemer! The picture exhibits an anomaly in the combination of the iconography of the medieval period and the fluid execution of a modern painter. Its inspiration comes from the dogmatic age; its execution illustrates modern methods.

Two contemporary painters nearest in date with whom we might compare the conception of this subject are Tintoretto and Rubens. In the "Crucifixion" at San Rocco, mastery of form and movement is employed in conjunction with a tradition which has passed through the humanistic mind of the Renaissance. Adherence to this decorative formula lends to the scene the element of the commemorative and monumental. In Rubens' "Coup de Lance," we have a magnificent rendering of physical forces taking part in a

human drama enacted entirely upon the physical plane. No hint of medieval symbolism remains to embarrass the naturalistic painter. How utterly different is the temperament revealed in El Greco's work.

The tendencies seen in this "Crucifixion" painted between 1584 and 1594 appear in the contemporary "Baptism." The figures become almost impalpable; El Greco's chiaroscuro is a dissolvent, as Mr. Mather says. Whether consciously or not, the painter by his technical method overcomes to an astonishing degree the conflict inherent in the attempt to express spiritual qualities in objective form. He frees us from material considerations which so hamper the surge of the spirit in actual experience. Religious ecstasy here transcends bodily sensation. Again, in the "Adoration of the Shepherds," in the Metropolitan Museum, vibration might almost be said to be the subject. Through the canvas courses a movement like flames, in which the material form is consumed as fuel.

El Greco was not always occupied with these intangible effects. In the "Trinity" of the Prado he appears as an objective draughtsman of great ability (Pl. 59A). The magnificently realized nude figure would bear comparison with those of Michelangelo. The head of the Saviour in this instance combines with the aristocratic structure of the bones the highest sensitiveness and refinement, in which is suggested capacity for the experience of exquisite joy or pain. Creative thought gives meaning to his symbols. Cherub heads emerge from the clouds unexpectedly as if to suggest that spirit is always latent in matter. The harmonization of colour through neutral grey is new and individual. Correggio alone among the earlier painters has used a similar gamut of colours.

El Greco painted several large figure pieces involving the combination of an earthly event and a heavenly vision. He preserves equilibrium and unity by means of colour, and his success can be judged only in the presence of the original. The "Burial of Count Orgaz" (Pl. 61A), still in the church for which it was painted in 1584, is by many regarded as his masterpiece. In the presence of the prelates and courtiers gathered at the count's grave, St. Augustine and St. Stephen appear and lower the body into the tomb. In the heavens, the soul of the count is presented before the enthroned Christ, surrounded by saints. The painter has made little attempt to connect the obsequies with the vision. The latter is arbitrary and suggests the appearance of the gods at the close of a Greek drama. The form of the clouds is like a

theatre drop-curtain. But in spite of almost insurmountable pictorial difficulties, the painting is held together by the grey tonality and the colour, passing through lemon yellows and orange to crimson, offset by Copenhagen blue and by the sombre notes of black, grey, and white, a singular and original harmony.

The head of St. Augustine is one of his most powerful, strongly individualized, and reserved portrait types. The bony structure stands out like steel framework. This head is contrasted with the youthful and sensitive physiognomy of St. Stephen, very tender in its rendering. The brocaded robes of the saints sweep about the recumbent figure of the dead knight in his magnificently painted armour. The elegant page at the left, pointing so insistently and handling his tall candle with so nonchalant an air, recalls Venetian figures.

There are passages of striking beauty or expressiveness—an impassioned gesture or an inspired movement of ecstasy—as the angel behind Peter who is transfigured by the sight of the Saviour. Exaggerated melancholy dominates all the grandees. Their official reserve is broken through here and there by such a penetrating type as that of the monk at the left with his burning gaze.

In this and other pictures, we are arrested by the heads of distinguished contemporaries. The painter himself mingled in such society. He lived in elegance; his house was frequented by the intellectual and highly bred chivalry of Castile, whom he has shown in numerous portraits in which the paint is made the vehicle through which the personality is vivified. Pictorial qualities are secondary to intellectual vigour. Colour in the sense of richness is lacking. Shown in black against a dark ground the figures gain in intensity. Racial traits are strongly marked. High cheek-bones, sharp noses with narrow bridges, rounded foreheads, pointed beards, and drooping moustaches characterize all. The eyes are sombre and anxious, never dreamy. They are watchful and observant, or else dead, burnt-out coals.

Roger Fry calls El Greco "the greatest exponent of the Baroque in the figurative arts"; the emotional and illustrative side of his art he considers insignificant. Interest is concentrated upon the creation of plastic rhythms; everything, he feels, is subordinated to the requirements of vision and design. The disregard of texture, the dislocation of anatomy, and the subordination of detail contribute to the increasing abstractness of his art, which, with its strange colour, abrupt and arbitrary lighting, and flamelike inter-

play of movement, has freed itself almost wholly from the static basis of composition and embodies the concept of the eternal flux.

The revolt against naturalism in the interest of psychic expression which El Greco's art embodies might serve as an illustration of the theories of the modernists, but the older painter has succeeded in his purpose without having recourse to their extremes. Nevertheless, as Beruete remarks, "There exists an invisible bond between this painter and the world of modern intellectualism." In his own day he was sure of himself, and after three centuries of oblivion that self-confidence has been justified.

With the "penetration of an alien observer," he has crystallized for us the religious ecstasy and the aristocratic and intolerant spirit of Spain. There is no comparable record. The highly individualized art of El Greco stands alone. It is separated by an interval of time from medieval art and it exhibits intellectual and mystic tendencies which isolate it from schools which developed at the opening of the seventeenth century.

Localities which had been centres of activity in the preceding period exhibited new vitality at this time. The most important were Valencia on the east coast and Seville in the south, the centre of Andalusian art.

The location of the port of Valencia had opened it to Italian influence from the first and this continued to be an important factor. Francisco Ribalta (1550–1628) was the link between the old manneristic school and the naturalism which became the leading characteristic of seventeenth century painting. He made the usual journey to Italy, where he remained for three years. The Italian painters with whom he came in contact were not the Venetian masters of colour, but naturalists of an extreme type for whom form was the chief interest. In their effort at complete realization they accentuated it by powerful contrasts of light and shade.

Ribalta followed this lead. He used a palette largely confined to tones of brown, often so dark that the figure can with difficulty be discerned. But he was not without sensitiveness, and his realism is modified by a feeling for beauty and dignity (see "Christ Bearing His Cross," London). The "Vision of St. Francis" in Madrid shows both qualities. The character of the saint is sympathetically interpreted. He is ardent, tremulous, and intent—but the vision which he sees is both theatrical and material. Reality is emphasized throughout by the strong illumination of the figures, contrasting with the deep tones of the room. The planes are well preserved, and the monk entering the door is excellent. His down-

cast eyes are fixed upon the light of his lamp, ineffectual to penetrate the gloom. It is evident that the painter's interest in objective effects is a primary one.

Ribalta's pupil, Ribera (1589–1652), identified himself entirely with the school of Naples, where he was known as Lo Spagnoletto. He practically continued the art of the late Italians, especially that of Caravaggio (1569–1609). He was an excellent draughtsman and could compose with clarity and force. Desire for sensational effects often led him to force the contrasts of light and shadow to a point where truthful modelling became impossible. This is well illustrated in the "Pietà" (National Gallery), where the sharpness with which light and shadow meet in the Magdalen's features and on Mary's hand gives an almost knifelike edge. The very effects of plasticity which he desired were thus annulled. Such harsh contrasts are incompatible with colouristic effects; the shadows are generally a heavy brown. At times, however, the transitions through the middle values are carefully recorded, as in "Jacob's Dream," in the Prado, where the figure is executed in the soundest manner; some Italian labourer taking his noonday siesta on the street was doubtless his inspiration. There are instances, however, where he made use of delicate transitions of colour, as in the "Adoration of the Shepherds" in the Louvre, where the Child appears as a luminous and pearly note against the rich browns of the surrounding figures.

Ribera's work is typically illustrated in the "Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew" (Pl. 60c). As a technical performance it is admirable. The groups rise spirally from a central vortex in community action like seamen hoisting a sail. The lighted area of the outstretched body is handsomely set off by the packed group; its great diagonal sweeps across the entire field with splendid dominance. The subject is exhilarating to the painter. As a figure draughtsman, he delights to show the executioners exerting their full force against the pull of gravity. The body of the martyr is about to draw with terrific tension upon the extended wrists. The scientific study of this movement engages his interest completely. In its indifference to physical agony, the picture is a true product of the seventeenth century.

Subjects of this character played so large a part in Ribera's work that we are apt to think of him as a painter of martyrdoms exclusively. But he executed not only other religious subjects but scenes from classical myths as well. One of his finest canvases

is the "Institution of the Sacrament" (1651), in Naples. The prominence given to the figure of Christ, the natural adaptation of the Apostolic group to a carefully organized scheme, and the variety and interest of the setting render this a notable example. At his best, Ribera is an admirable draughtsman in the academic sense, violent and headstrong in his art and in his life, but possessing qualities which, if not agreeable, yet command respect for his ability as a craftsman. His influence was widely felt.

The Andalusian school centred in Seville, where the revival was already well advanced by 1600. The most important masters of the school were Velazquez, Zurbaran, and Murillo. Naturalism was the basis of the teaching of Herrera and of Pacheco, and works by Ribera in Seville encouraged the use of strong contrasts of light and shade. Velazquez and Zurbaran (1598–1662) were brought up under these influences, and affinities of style are evident in their early work, but the former left Seville in his twentieth year to follow the specialized career of court painter in Madrid while Zurbaran became the great interpreter of monastic life.

All of Zurbaran's work is marked by restraint and dignity. His clearly defined planes of light and shade are painted vigorously and soberly and without the exaggeration of the Valencian school. At times he uses the brown tonality characteristic of Ribera, but generally his canvases are pervaded by a silvery grey, and his colour schemes are often original and harmonious. In the painting in the Louvre of "St. Bonaventura Presiding over a Chapter," white light, silver shadows, and areas of black support his scheme of reds. The Pope's garment and the rug at his feet are vermilion softened to Venetian red, the Cardinal's canopy is a dull wine, and the flesh tones are closely related. The colour is broadly handled in an effort to unify the whole. In some examples, such as figures of single female saints, Zurbaran is like a designer of costumes for the stage. His colour combinations here are unexpected and original, as in the old gold and rose silk in his "St. Lucy." The "St. Margaret" of the National Gallery is rather startling and suggests the elementary colour of European peasant art. She wears a combination of turkey red, yellow, green, and black. The flashlight sharpness of illumination in this instance puts delicacies of texture out of the question. The shadows obliterate local colour so that a diagrammatic effect comparable to a modern poster results.

The "Apotheosis of St. Thomas Aquinas" is an important

composition. The principal figures form a great semicircle. The inspired saint is flanked by the Fathers of the Church, while below, Charles V. and kneeling prelates gaze upon the celestial vision. The massive forms suggest a weight too ponderous for the clouds on which they are upheld. They seem to impinge on the earth, but the draughtsmanship and monumental action are most expressive and the heads are fine portraits.

Zurbaran shows little power in visualizing a dramatic scene, but he is often admirable in conveying an emotion or state of being. "St. Thomas Aquinas Seeking the Source of St. Bonabenture's Inspiration" is a story impressive in its candour and simplicity (Pl. 59c). Mr. Post calls him a monologist, and he is perhaps at his best in single figures of monks absorbed in study or devotion, where he suggests the reserve and ardour of the monastic vocation. This is illustrated in the "St. Francis" in the National Gallery or the "St. Ignatius Loyola," formerly in the Erich Galleries, where, rising in a fine silhouette against the sky, the full-length figure strides forward with a pilgrim's staff. The light—perhaps moonlight—illumines the face, emerging from black hair and black shadows, and casts a cold greenish tone over the sky and distance.

Cassio says of Zurbaran: "There has never been a painter who has better reflected the two most pronounced tendencies of the Spanish character; namely, a passion for reality and an aspiration toward the ideal." In Zurbaran are expressed the ardour and austerity of monastic life in the period of the Counter Reformation.

The style of Zurbaran was narrowly specialized. Seville waited for its typical painter until a later generation, when the Andalusian spirit was perfectly embodied in the art of Murillo (1617–1682), who was and who remains the people's painter. In the technical sense of the word, Murillo is seldom a painter. His interest is illustrative, and what he depicts is what every man sees. Light has no magic for him; it shows only the pattern of the woven basket or the material of the earthenware pitcher without giving the least emotional thrill of beauty; it illuminates the Virgin's figure, but the darkness around her lacks all mystery. Murillo's apparitions are miracles, not immanence made visible. Literal minded himself, he was the painter for simple people—and he still charms by his sincerity, sentimentality, and pleasing colours. It was necessary for him to please: even with all his popularity, he died practically penniless.

Murillo's early years in Seville were full of hardship, but he was determined to advance his style. At this time, he found a market for his pictures in trade with the new continent of America, with which Seville was closely connected. His professional enthusiasm was aroused by reports of van Dyck's career, and the desire to improve his work led him to undertake the long and difficult journey to Madrid. During the three years of his sojourn there he was able, through the good offices of Velazquez, to study the royal collections. Short of Italy, he could have found no such masterpieces elsewhere.

Contact with Velazquez and the royal collections was a contact with reality. Justi says he threw off his "vapid devotional manner" and painted with a realism not approved by his countrymen. The chief result of his study in Madrid was an improvement in taste, not a borrowing of this, that, or another trait.

Murillo's early mature period after his return to Seville in 1694 is typically illustrated in the "Holy Family" (Madrid), which is a coloured illustration of domestic life. It is a good bit of story-telling, and it appeals by its sentimental mood. Here, as in almost every picture, Murillo illustrates sympathy for childhood which still remains a charming trait of Spanish life.

His "Beggar Boys" illustrates the same period, in which the planes of modelling are clearly marked, the drawing careful and firm, and the colour in shades of golden brown. These pictures are executed like still life painting with conscientious attention to fact. They suggest what excellent things he might have done with secular subjects, but even here sentimentality is as much his stock-in-trade as it is that of the beggar boys themselves. Such an appeal was exactly suited to the popular taste in religious painting and it was to this field that Murillo devoted himself, filling the churches and convents in and about Seville with pictures that every one could understand and enjoy: prettily coloured illustrations of sacred legend—vision and ecstasy—in place of agony and martyrdom. Particularly successful narratives are those told in the two pictures in the Prado: "Dream of the Roman Senator" which led to the founding of Santa Maria Maggiore, and "St. Isabel of Hungary Nursing the Sick."

In the latter all his middle-class interest in his fellow men, his observation of facial expression, etc., are brought into play. The nauseated expression of the central boy, the offensive realism in the gesture of the lad to the right, the grimace of the man unbinding his leg, are excellent studies. The old woman in the fore-

(*A*) El Greco. The Trinity. Prado, Madrid. (Ollivier)

(*B*) El Greco. Crucifixion. Prado, Madrid. (Roig)

(*C*) Zurbaran St. Bonaventura showing the Crucifix to St. Thomas Aquinas. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*A*) Murillo. The Conception. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*B*) Murillo. The Holy Family. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*C*) Ribera. Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

ground with her strained muscles and her intent expression is admirably drawn. The woman at the left and the saint are quite lovely figures. Mass is lacking in the group, which, instead of being a unit, is an array of insistent shapes. Although delicate combinations of colour have been substituted for the brown sequences of the earlier works, the tonality remains brown and dingy and the pictures lack colour unity because local colours are unrelated to the surrounding tone. The flesh has become very delicate and soft; the tones are fused and meaningless and lack definite planes. His groups are not scientifically planned but often they include figures of graciousness like the kneeling woman in the Louvre "Birth of the Virgin." Sometimes he considers his main massing of lights and darks, but at other times, as in the miracle of San Diego, the "Kitchen of the Angels" (Louvre), the canvas is broken up into a busy confusion of lights without any attempt at concentration, as if he were unconscious of the pictorial raison d'être.

"San Ildefonso Receiving a Vestment from the Virgin" shows a carefully organized composition, solid drawing, and good painting. The head of the saint is an excellent portrait and the old woman a realistic peasant study. Here the colour exhibits a strange fluctuation from a scheme suggesting Nattier to the strong contrasts of his own day, and seems to indicate vacillation and indecision in his own mind.

For Seville and for Murillo there was one supreme subject at this time—the Immaculate Conception, a tenet especially dear to the Spanish people. The picture in the Seville Museum painted in 1652 has a virility which gives the design real grandeur. The Virgin's actual size is colossal, about nine feet. "Murillo never painted with greater strength or with greater sobriety."

Later renderings are less exultant. That in Madrid (Pl. 60A) excels in the expression of purity of soul. The wonder is that of a child, unmixed. It is free from any taint of sentimentality. The shape and contour of the figure in the field are perfectly designed and real movement is suggested. The head is exquisitely poised; illuminated by the surrounding golden light, it is only slightly differentiated from it. Against this atmospheric background floats the fine azure of the robe, worn over ivory white. This would be a most lovely thing to hang above an altar.

A thoroughly charming example of Murillo's late work is the "Holy Family" (Pl. 60B), in which the youthful Saviour stands between the Virgin and St. Joseph. The arrangement of the

group is pleasing, with its gentle modulation of pose and gesture, and the twofold relation of the Child to earth and heaven is delicately suggested. The Almighty is benign, the putti winning. The soft fusing of the forms is without weakness and the colour is transparent and harmonious.

There is every reason why such pictures should be popular. Murillo's piety was sincere and his work showed a naïveté by which he appealed to all hearts. But the painter had greater potentialities, which were not called into play, and gradually his art was vitiated by mawkish sentiment and pretty colour. At his best, however, Murillo embodied the Andalusian temperament, and he has been called, "the most international of all Spanish painters."

In order to complete the survey of artists working in Valencia and Seville the chronological sequence has been disregarded for the moment. When Murillo died in 1682 he was the last representative of the seventeenth century group. We must turn back, however, to Velazquez whose life was spent in the court at Madrid and who united with the Spanish feeling for nature technical and esthetic qualities of so high an order that his is the outstanding figure in the Spanish school.

CHAPTER XXX

VELAZQUEZ AND GOYA

Velazquez (1599–1660) was a fellow townsman of Zurbaran in Seville, where he first studied with Herrera, a realist of limited outlook and intolerant spirit. Later he became the pupil of Pacheo, who, though a less vigorous painter, was a man of wider interests and broader culture. He appreciated the promise of his pupil, who later became his son-in-law. Velazquez's work at this time shows his preoccupation with the problems of naturalistic painting which were of universal interest, but he early acquired a mastery of draughtsmanship so exceptional as to set him apart from his contemporaries and to furnish a criterion for the attribution of disputed works.

The records of his life are scanty and his work is so impersonal that we are scarcely conscious of seeing nature by means of any medium. He was gifted with power to penetrate disguise, and he gradually refined his technical vehicle until it became so simple and responsive that there seems to be something of the magician in his way of evoking life. We are made to feel even in his most impassive figures the human spirit imprisoned like a bird within its cage. He revealed the qualities of the Spanish race by his very reticences but remains himself only a voice—or rather, only a brush.

Pictures executed in the early period are generally composed of half-length figures, eating, drinking, or cooking. With few exceptions, they are large in scale for the field and brilliantly illuminated from an opening high to the left. The massing of light and shadow is bold and clearly marked. Compared with later examples, there is little atmospheric tone. The realistic conception is astonishingly vivid. Everything included is seen with great simplicity; that is, the rendering of its plastic realness is uppermost, not any trivial detail. The background is warm brown (in contrast to later works) and the flesh tones, tanned leather. Typical examples of the Seville period are the "Water Carrier" (Apsley House), and the "Supper at Emmaus" (Metropolitan Museum). The same old man served as a model in both pictures;

in the latter, the dazed and baffled look on his face is an excellent study of an essential of peasant character. The finest bit of painting in this canvas is the face at the right seen in profile. So great is the truth of observation and rendering that we are as sure of the other side of the man's head as if he were before us. As an interpretation of Christ, the third figure is wholly inadequate, but as a man breaking bread (that is, from the objective standpoint) it also is admirable. The colours are not unpleasing, but they seem to have little interrelation. If Velazquez had died before he left Seville, he would still rank with the greatest realists of the century.

Velazquez made his first visit to the Capital in 1622. Through the influence of the prime minister, Olivares, he was brought to the notice of Philip IV. and a year later was established as court painter, a position he retained throughout his life. The king was a good judge of pictures and the court was in need of a great portrait painter.

In the early years of the seventeenth century, when Rubens made an official visit to the Spanish court, he had been so unfavourably impressed with the work of local painters that he was unwilling even to receive assistance from them. The royal school was then at its lowest ebb. The succession of portrait painters from the reign of Charles V. to that of Philip IV. represented progressive decline (Beruete). During the reign of Philip II., the Flemish master, Antonio Moro, was in residence at the court for several years, and his pupil Coello continued the production of official portraits, but he lacked the ability to vitalize the stiffly bodiced figures whose intricately elaborated costumes sometimes interest us more than do the personalities.

For Velazquez, the call to Madrid was of the utmost importance. As a creative artist, he lacked imagination, but his power of observation and his technical ability were unequalled. Seated before the model, he was absolute master. Though material things yielded him more and more of their meaning, Velazquez remained always a painter of the objective world. His interpretations of religious and mythological subjects are far less successful than his portraits.

In making him court painter for Philip IV., fate provided him with the niche which he was intended to fill. Nevertheless, the office had many drawbacks. The painter was merely a palace servant, classed with dwarfs and buffoons. His opportunities for study were few and his time often frittered away in super-

intending the puerilities of court ceremonies. On the other hand, he was employed to paint canvas after canvas of the household daily under his observation, and in the king he had a patron whose interest in esthetic matters was genuine and intelligent.

The king and the painter were nearly of an age. Philip was the scion of a long line of princes. All his pride of race and the sacredness of person which the theory of kingship involved were conveyed in the uncompromising figure. The painter understood and interpreted. He made the portrait unmistakably that of a king without recourse to symbol or insignia (Aman-Jean). The severity of the contour, the pose of the head, and the expression of self-contained sufficiency unite in producing the effect. The proportions are so extraordinary that one is convinced the shoulders must have been padded, but the painter never lost sight of the form and articulation beneath the most fantastic costume. Observe, in the example in the Metropolitan Museum, how the high light on the belt indicates the position of the hip, and the Collar of the Golden Fleece is utilized to show the contours of shoulder and chest as well as the limit of the foreshortened side of the body, otherwise lost in the shadow.

After he came to the court Velazquez's pictorial design necessarily changed. At first the rigidity of the costume and the formality of the pose must have presented grave difficulties, as upon comparison of various early portraits of Philip, a slight shifting of position shows a desire to make the shape as compact as possible. Such portraits are figureheads of the state whose symbolic character must be preserved. Spanish costumes of both men and women were stiff. It was not possible to perceive any of the yielding grace of the body beneath; therefore the design had to be accommodated to an angularity of silhouette and a use of unswerving outline, to which the figures and the few accessories the artist used all conformed, giving the productions a quality of style quite different from that of any earlier artist.

In 1628 Rubens again visited Spain. He remained several months in Madrid, and we know that Velazquez acted as his guide. In the following year Velazquez painted his first ambitious figure composition. His independence is complete; it would be difficult for the keenest eye to detect in the "Topers" any change of style resulting from Rubens' influence.

The painter makes no attempt at an interpretation. The peasants or workmen, like those who take their siesta in the park, are ruddy and tanned. The light is a cool studio light and the

figure of Bacchus is as clear skinned as a woman. It is a magnificent study of the nude, firm, solid, simple, and unequivocal. The body is brought into juxtaposition with the figure behind, whose skin is browner, whose arm is more muscular, and whose torso is simplified by the shadow into its broadest planes. It is painted on a red ground, only loosely veiled with the opaque greys of sky or earth. Velazquez has transcribed without vulgarity or offence the coarse types and the contagious laugh.

Related to the above by its treatment of the nude is the "Christ at the Column," of the National Gallery. The draughtsmanship of the body is magnificent—its progression into full light and its perfect subordination in shadow. As a physical study it might be compared with Michelangelo. The evidence of suffering is greater than the photograph suggests because of the pewter-grey pallor of the face, which makes one feel the cold sweat of pain. Beruete has made a fine analysis of the composition, showing the balance of *weight* (Christ's arms) against mass (angel). The picture is not lacking in religious feeling; the gesture and speechless sympathy of the child are deeply touching. The angel is dressed in hot brown wool (a travelling costume!) with maroon sleeves. The child wears a clair de lune dress beautifully painted. The stone floor is a cool grey and the background a very dark transparent umber.

The "Forge of Vulcan," painted while Velazquez was in Rome, contrasts with the preceding by a more unstudied movement. This is particularly evident in the nude figures about the anvil. This and the "Topers" prove that Velazquez had no interest in classic motives as such. Later pictures show the same matter-of-fact treatment of mythology. His gloomily ruminating figure of Mars has been described aptly as a policeman unclad and the "Venus with a Mirror" is represented as the model unidealized (Pl. 68c).

The most important figure design following his return from Italy was the "Surrender of Breda," painted as a mural decoration for the palace of Buen Retiro. As Velazquez was a personal friend of the Spanish general Spinola, who received the keys of the city, he may well have had the account of the surrender by word of mouth (Pl. 66A).

The event took place in 1625. To attempt this subject was like representing a victory from the late war for people who fought in its battles. It must be true to fact and spirit, it must include well-known leaders, and it must be exact in details of cos-

tume, etc. These are the conditions of the historical picture, and they are so exacting that few painters can cope with them successfully. Cox says he remembers no other historical painting which is a great masterpiece as well. Aman-Jean remarks, "Without the 'Surrender of Breda,' we should not remember that before Philip lost Holland he captured a town there."

Velazquez makes the story perfectly clear. As far as the picture can be seen, the observer is to know that Breda gave up her key; also that at the moment of receiving it, Spinola bent to greet his adversary as an equal. This was true to the spirit of the event, for we are told that Spinola granted "the most honourable terms ever yet conceded to a captured garrison." The incident stands out against the illuminated regiment of Spanish soldiers in pale blue moving through the middle distance. The strong contrast and the quick spontaneous movement of the principal actors is confined within a central oval by the disposition of the flanking groups. On the right, the bulk of the general's war horse fills all the lower portion. The abrupt turn of the horse's neck brings us face to face with the bodyguard of Spanish noblemen. They are fine types strongly lighted, but our realization of their importance is due, not to the heads alone but to the forest of lances rising behind them—a motive as expressive as it is masterly in design. On a slight rise of ground at the left, the Dutchmen stand with their backs towards us, so that their size, resulting from proximity to the spectator, does not give them too great prominence. Their pikes are effectively brought out against the distance but intentionally, no doubt, this group is allowed to appear loosely organized in contrast to the strength and severe discipline suggested by the Spanish lances. The special requirements in this mural decoration have led to a more conventional composition than is usual with Velazquez. The distance with the winding river and the smoke from the smouldering towns is rendered in the silvery blue tones which appeared in Velazquez's work after the out-of-door studies made in Italy. The influence of El Greco is shown in an increased breadth and looseness of handling and in the enrichment of the palette by greys, carmines, and yellows (Beruete). Even in photographs, we are able to distinguish the liquid floating of one tone into another.

To be grouped with the "Surrender" as showing the new range of colour are the pictures of the "Royal Sportsman." Don Ferdinand, a tall compact figure, more than fills the canvas. This is loosely handled and the figure is enveloped in out-of-door light.

The little Don Carlos, only half the height of the canvas, stands firmly upright before the flowing diagonals which the painter has chosen from the mountain scenery about Madrid. Both are splendid examples of space filling and design.

The equestrian portraits of the King, Olivares, and Don Carlos are a little later. By the prancing of his impossibly rotund pony, Don Carlos is raised in a sharp triangle high above the landscape. The boy is charming and debonair and the picture has a gaiety rare in Velazquez's work. The sky is blue with clouds, the mountains blue with snow. The boy has the shining skin of a child. His dress is gold and dull green, his scarf pink with madder ends.

In 1650 Velazquez again visited Italy, at that time painting the magnificent "Portrait of Innocent X." in the Doria Gallery. Probably soon after his return the "Venus with a Mirror" (Pl. 68c) was executed. The use of the nude female figure is rare in Spanish painting, and in Velazquez's work this is the only remaining example. In this instance he was free from the trammels of contemporary fashion and we can appreciate his modernity as nowhere else. The figure is conceived in a spirit anticipating Goya and Manet rather than recalling the Italian Renaissance. The lithe and long-limbed figure is painted directly from the model and the artist has not concealed the fact that she has been corseted. Justi feels that the novel situation made Velazquez self-conscious. It is difficult to understand this comment, for here as everywhere the searching scrutiny of the painter investigates the unfamiliar material and finds its way by the most direct path to the essential facts of form and colour. The flesh is painted with marvellous ease and breadth. Touches of carmine give a shell-like flush of pink against the taupe drapery of the couch. The curtain is a pink-cherry and Cupid's ribbon is Nattier blue.

Velazquez's genius as a realist is nowhere better shown than in the series of paintings of dwarfs, buffoons, and idiots, of which the Spanish court was full. He saw these melancholy figures impersonally—as he saw every thing—and they gain rather than lose force in consequence. How marvellously they are characterized! Compared with the caricatures of the sixteenth century, they show the psychology of a later period. In the miniature body of "Il Primo," the human spirit appeals for recognition. "Nino," devoid of volition, is the victim of chance. One is appalled by the burden of flesh without mind. The "Idiot of Coria" was painted in Velazquez's third period when his genius had

(*A*) El Greco. Burial of Count Orgaz. Church of Santo Tomé. Toledo, Spain. (Anderson)

(*B*) Velazquez. Idiot of Coria. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*C*) Van Dyck. Children of Charles I (detail). Turin. (Anderson)

(*A*) Goya. The Family of Charles IV. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*B*) Velazquez. The Maids of Honor. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

reached its highest point (Pl. 61B). The body seems possessed of an evil spirit, falsifying experience. The movement is inconsequent, the sight distorted, the laugh joyless. Terrible and repulsive, but infinitely pathetic figures!

These, the lowest members of the royal household, may be contrasted with the other extreme of the social scale, the Queen—whom no one might touch on pain of death even to save her life! (Pl. 55B) Protected from all possible human contact, encased in a preposterously extended cage, with tightly compressed corsage cut high about the shoulder and an ornamented wig, she is a "symbol rather than a woman." Yet the amazing thing is her reality. By what magic does he preserve it in all this chrysalis wrapping!

He avoided (how, one wonders) giving these figures the appearance of tops, as Coello often does. "Maria Theresa" and "Margarita" especially, are like magicians who come before us with conscious pride in the display of flaring skirt which they seem to have distended miraculously for our delight. There is a quaint old-fashionedness about them contrasting with the early years at which they have assumed such attire. In some examples, the hoopskirt fills the entire width of the canvas and the painter prevents the grotesque silhouette from attracting too much attention by the play of light and colour over the surface. Silver, black, and coral is a constantly recurring scheme; the pale carmines are focused in the exquisite brilliance and delicacy of the flesh tones.

Employed to record the unlovely features of a degenerate family at a period of uncouth fashion, only the artist's vision trained to find beauty by distinguished seeing could save such pictures from passing out of remembrance when the race and fashion of the day passed. Two examples in Madrid may be chosen to illustrate what Velazquez could do with such material. They are indescribable in their subtlety and beauty of colour. "Mariana" wears a black dress the color of sealskin, with umber lights. This is trimmed with silvery grey. About her neck is a sheer material which brings out the whiteness of her throat. Her cheeks and the ribbons at her wrists are coral.

In strong contrast is the portrait of "Margarita." Dressed in cloth of silver, she is surrounded by rose-madder depths which lead through rose and ochre tones to the orange-red of the oriental rug. It is pure and original in colour and simple in execution. Both paintings are supremely beautiful.

In Velazquez's simplicity of drawing there is a solidity as actual

as that of a plastic material. Every nuance is understood structurally, and as we move away from his paintings their reality increases. His generalized brushing is always employed to increase the perception of form. This may be studied in a good photograph of detail, as, for instance, in the "Innocent X." where the twill of the canvas is hardly anywhere filled with the pigment and yet the formation of surface modelling is complete and detailed.

Beruete says that Velazquez became farsighted after fifty. This may account for the strange quality of his late work. Near at hand it looks indefinite, almost flat. At a distance of six to ten feet, the reality is more arresting than in the most naturalistic rendering of his first period, probably because one is at a loss to know by what means the result is attained.

The personages of the Spanish court had been painted from year to year by Velazquez. At the end, he painted the soul of court etiquette in the "Maids of Honour." He shows not only the group, which, according to the usual explanation, is assembled before the king and queen as they pose for Velazquez, but the whole tableau: the large, dim chamber, its walls covered with paintings; the immense canvas before which the painter stands; the suggestion of formal grandeur and the hedging in of life in the midst of which the child princess is so fragile, so flower-like and so young (Pl. 62B).

The artist realizes that lighted space can charm the eye. The air about the figures becomes almost as important as they are. We can estimate the modification that each figure would undergo if moved backward or forward in space. That is, the atmosphere becomes a tangible thing. The eye which has marked the relationships of tone for so many years finds no difficulty in managing the new elements involved here. It is all a part of the theme which he has realized as the primary concern of the painter; namely, the pulsation and interplay of light. All the shadowed part of the room is grey. The light strikes the foreground group directly. The painter himself, the nun, and her companion occupy the middle plane, and the end of the room is less distant than it appears in the photograph.

Colours have become subordinated to tone. The lightest spot—the open doorway—is an ivory-white. A little lower in value is the corn-silk of Margarita's hair and the dress with its putty coloured gradation which becomes slightly cooler in the basque of the figure at the left, and changes to mouse colour in

the shadowed figure at the right. The dog is warmer ochre. Other figures are moss or bottle-green, silvery in the lights. Coral terra-cotta is flecked through the whole.

Stevenson, in his analysis of Velazquez's late work, shows his new method of generalization through focusing with complete concentration on one central point. This enhances the force of the impression. The remainder of the canvas is filled in with forms which have somewhat the relation to the central interest that subconscious impressions bear to registered sensations. This technical synthesis is new and revolutionary. It is the method of advanced nineteenth century painting.

In "The Tapestry Weavers," Velazquez treated a genre subject. "It is a rare instance in the work of Velazquez of the use of women's figures only" (Aman-Jean). The workers in the foreground are richly interrelated in movement, and simple and large in drawing. The exhibition room, raised by a few steps, swims in a brilliant light and appears like the stage on which a play is acted. But there is some confusion between the actual visitors and the allegorical figures of the tapestry. This is so exceptional in the case of Velazquez that it seems as if the pigment must have changed colour. The general tone is mellow and the colour in its variety and warmth suggests Rubens.

One of the earliest and one of the last of Velazquez's pictures hang side by side in the Prado. In the "Adoration of the Shepherds," the background is dense, rich black. The light strikes the tableau brilliantly, isolating the contour of Mother and Child as sharply as if it were carved in wood. It is a beautiful example of realistic painting. Next it hangs the "Hermits," in which atmosphere itself has been framed! (Pl. 58A.) All that is static is gone. The old men with their tremulous gesture are moving and breathing. Loose touches define the body under the folds of the drapery. The painting is executed like a modern sketch and no doubt was painted very rapidly. The blue sky is filled with filmy clouds massed at the horizon in a warm grey. The silhouette of the mountain is a transparent liquid blue, a cloud shadow rests on the slope. These tones move through a perfect sequence to the umber rocks. It is a more modern landscape than anything else painted in the century.

No painter has held so clear a mirror to catch the likeness of the visible world. The artist's mind, through which we are permitted to look, is free of bias. Without fear or favour he sets down what he sees, but like Fiona Macleod's "Anointed Man,"

he astonishes us as we contemplate degeneracy, deformity, decrepitude, by exclaiming, "How beautiful the world is!" There is nothing fortuitous in his composition, nothing accidental in his impalpable technique, yet nothing seems prearranged, no scheme or method is in evidence. We know only that everything lives before us; the means by which the miracle is wrought remain a mystery. In the art of painting, Velazquez is consummate master and he is the inspiration of the modern school, for "the air which he breathes is ours and we walk beneath his sky."

Velazquez died in 1660. His fatal illness resulted from labours in preparation for the marriage of Philip IV.'s daughter with Louis XIV. The alliance made in the interest of peace shortly afterwards brought on the war of the Spanish succession, the final disaster in a long series of calamities. Painting declined with the declining fortunes of the country. By the opening of the eighteenth century the art impulse appears to have died out and almost a hundred years of comparative inactivity followed.

Suddenly Goya appeared. Nothing heralded the coming of this artist, who arose from an obscure locality to take his place as the second great painter of the Spanish nation. To discuss Goya (1746–1828) at this point carries us into a later period, but the continuity of Spanish painting seems in this instance to be more important than chronological sequence.

Goya's life was one of violent contrasts. His early escapades, probably no more scandalous than those of his neighbours, were picturesque and consequently have been repeated and exaggerated. He made more than one hasty exit from Italy and from Madrid as well, but finally in 1776 he took up his permanent residence in the Spanish capital. The German artist Mengs was painting at the Spanish court but Goya remained independent of all foreign influences and gradually matured an art thoroughly representative of his race. Goya alone of his time, Beruete says, appreciated the genius of Velazquez. The same racial qualities reappeared in the later artist and the resemblance is also apparent in technical methods. Beruete mentions the combination of grey, silver, carmine, and violet appearing first in the work of El Greco, then in that of Velazquez, and finally at the end of the eighteenth century in Goya's work.

As a technician Goya is uneven, often in a picture of great merit there are passages of weakness which betray lack of concentration, but at his best he approaches the excellence of Velazquez

more nearly than any other master. Like his great predecessor his best work was portraiture. Goya was interested, however, in popular customs, and he chose national pastimes as the motives of his early designs for tapestry, where the life of the Spanish people appears in art for the first time. Although general spacing, scale, and convention, follow the usual type of eighteenth century design as established in France, the motives and humour are strictly Spanish. Later Goya made many studies of the bull-fight which in his day became a popular rather than a royal festivity. In the composition of these scenes in the ring older traditional methods of balance are dispensed with, and Goya appears as an innovator even as compared with contemporary French artists.

He gradually gained recognition in Madrid and in 1799 was appointed painter to the Bourbon court. His patrons were as unprepossessing as those of Velazquez and far less intelligent. He shows them just as they were and we marvel that he did not give offence. It was far otherwise, however. The queen in describing certain of these royal portraits expresses herself in terms of warm approbation. The painter in no way minimized the middle class complacency which characterized the royal family. At the same time, like Velazquez, Goya succeeded in transfiguring his models by beauty of tone and colour. The "Family of Charles IV.," is a striking instance (Pl. 62A). The group is most obviously "arranged" and penned in by the flat wall of the room so that the eye has no escape, as in "The Maids of Honour"; nor is the interest of the group enhanced by varieties of size or tone resulting from distance. But the light which pours in from an upper window floods the picture and touches sparklingly the scintillating brilliance of the court dress and decoration. The qualities of the work of art are all the more impressive since the composition is unpleasing and the value of the picture depends entirely on the inimitable method of presentation. Mather says that this painting is esthetic law and gospel for those who look for "trenchant notation of casual appearance." Beruete is even stronger in his praise. "It is the summary, the synthesis, and the archetype of Goya's whole creation," he says, and "one of the leading works which painting has produced." Elsewhere he speaks of it as "the richest combination (of colours) that has ever issued from any palette."

In all his portraits Goya preserved the balance of interest between subject and design and he kept the equilibrium between racial and individual traits in his interpretation. We are almost

as conscious of racial difference in comparing Goya's portraits with contemporary work in France or England as in comparing the languages of these peoples.

A delightful early example is that of the "Marquesa de Pontejos." She is typical in many ways. This lady in the nonchalant ease of wealth and charm walks out to exercise her dog. All about her is light and air and space; indeed the unoccupied space is a distinct element of beauty. She moves forward without self-consciousness; the horizon line is low and the figure is almost unsupported by the distant, hazy landscape. Everything extraneous is omitted, hence decorative accessories are lacking and the figure is shown in isolation. The qualities which give delight in all Goya's canvases are colour and tone, both indescribable. He succeeds in conveying his message of beauty through his own medium.

The male portraits, direct and unequivocal in delineation, show similar technical skill. That of his brother-in law, Bayeu, is one of the most remarkable especially, in its succinct expression. "Don Sebastian Martinez" (Metropolitan Museum) is notable for the economy of means by which the painter creates the texture of the coat of old-fashioned stiff silk. This abbreviated handling contrasts with the conscientious and beautiful attention given to the head. The animated figure of "Condé de Ferman Munez" in military cloak and hat makes a fine design and moves forward in admirably realized space. Goya's portraits are free of exaggeration, singularly varied although without recourse to accessories, delicate and subtle in range of colour, and spontaneous in technical handling. Beruete ranks Goya as one of the world's greatest portrait painters.

Like other Spanish artists Goya had little occasion to treat the nude figure, but one of his works marking "a moment of inspiration" is the "Maja Nude." It was characteristic of the painter and characteristic of his modern attitude to make no subterfuge: he painted the individual who posed for him and he delighted in the exquisite beauty of flesh as it is. This picture influenced modern artists who also paint not Venus but the courtesan.

Goya's successful career as court painter was brought to an abrupt close by the invasion of the French. He gives an appalling picture of contemporary events in his great series of etchings, the "Disasters of War," published after his death. "The man of the eighteenth century" is here seen transformed into "the man of the nineteenth century." The terror mixed with cynical de-

spair that filled men's minds in the Napoleonic era are shown here. Scalding venom, merciless rapacity, cunning ingenuity, cringing terror—all the unlovely traits of human nature by his genius as a designer are transmuted into works of the highest beauty. The pattern of dark and light is magnificent and the tone, unexcelled in quality, is rendered in masterly fashion. The introduction as subject-matter for art of the anguish, squalor, and injustice of the common lot, is something to be reckoned with throughout the nineteenth century. In such works Goya is in Faure's phrase "a Satanic poet of lust and death."

Goya was always at close grapple with life and when life took this tragic turn he was equal to the task. "The men who paint their own times with the insight of Goya," Rothenstein says, "in a manner paint all time." The flare of Goya's art died down as suddenly as it had arisen and with it ended the great age of Spanish art.

In the nineteenth century brilliant technique has characterized Spanish painting. Fortuny (1838–1874) was one of the best technicians among painters inspired by oriental themes, and in our own day Sorolla (1863–1923) is notable for technical gifts although his work expresses little that is distinctively Spanish. Zuloaga (1870–) on the other hand gives a true image of his country. Spanish types, surroundings, and love of colour are distinctive in his work. His execution is bold, his sense for pattern strong, and sometimes his pictures look like great posters. This feeling for ornamental design leads to an interesting conventionalization in the treatment of picturesque features of Spanish landscape and ancient cities like Toledo. The popularity of this painter is very great, but his later work unfortunately shows a tendency towards theatrical exaggeration. Contemporary Spanish art retains a stronger racial quality than is usually found in modern painting.

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(*A*) Copy of Rembrandt's Night Watch by Gerrit Lundens. National Gallery, London.
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(*B*) Hals. Jolly Toper. Ryks Museum Amsterdam. (L L)

(*C*) Hals. Portrait of a Woman. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*A*) Hals. Banquet of St. Georges Company. Haarlem. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Hals. Officers of St. Adrians Company. Haarlem. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*C*) Rembrandt. The Syndics. Ryks Museum, Amsterdam. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

CHAPTER XXXI

PAINTING IN HOLLAND: FRANS HALS

Before the political division of the Netherlands into the modern states of Belgium and Holland the art of the whole country generally is considered as forming one school, a school which should be designated as Netherlandish, rather than Flemish, in recognition of the important contribution made by the northern provinces. It is only towards the end of the century that distinctively Dutch characteristics can easily be isolated. Haarlem and Leiden were centres of activity at this time. Dierick Bouts, who finally settled in Louvain, has been discussed. Aelbert Ouwater and his pupil, Geertgen tot Sint Jans, although known by few works, were painters of great originality. The brooding figure of "St. John the Baptist," by the latter master shows a rare insight into the inner life. Although his career was very brief, his influence is apparent not only in work of his contemporaries but in later productions of the school. "Every element of Dutch painting felt the stimulus of his art," Valentiner writes. He was original in his use of colour and chiaroscuro, in his development of landscape motives, and in his freedom from precedent.

The school of Leiden became prominent early in the sixteenth century during the activity of Engelbrechtsen and Lucas van Leyden. The latter was an engraver of the highest distinction whose work was as popular as that of Dürer. Few of his paintings have survived.

Painting declined after the middle of the century when political and religious controversies reached a critical stage. Even before the abdication of Charles V. religious persecutions had begun. They were carried on with increasing violence under the generalship of the Duke of Alva. At first the Low Countries were united in their opposition to Spain but gradually their paths diverged. Flanders was content to remain under the Spanish crown. Her sympathies were Catholic, and Rubens represented his countrymen in his effort to bring about a reconciliation rather than a rupture. Holland's struggle for liberty of rule and conscience had to be sustained alone. Of this heroic contest Fromentin says:

"The war, instead of impoverishing Holland, enriched it; the struggle, in place of weakening it, strengthened it, elated it, and tempered it. What it did against so many obstacles—the sea, the flooded land, the climate—it did against the foreigner. It succeeded." Although a successful outcome was assured before the end of the sixteenth century, Dutch independence was not recognized by treaty until 1648 (Munster).

In Holland the foundation of the modern state was laid, and with the nation was born a national art. For the painter the necessary adjustments were trying. Formerly the artist often had been attached to the court of a prince and although his duties might be irksome he was well cared for like other retainers. Under the new régime the painter had to rely upon the people, and he paid dearly for his liberty. It happened that Holland was unaccountably prolific in painters; she had more than she could support.

The country had become Protestant, and thus at one and the same moment, the painter was deprived, not only of ecclesiastical patronage, but of the tradition which had inspired all his predecessors. The foundation-stone on which the older schools had been reared was rejected. What possible substitute could be found? Holland had risked all in her determination to follow her own life, and the same independence of spirit was shown in painting, the national style was built on new conceptions. Since Dutch freedom had been won against overwhelming odds, all who had taken part in the struggle wore a halo of heroism. Here was the cue: the nation turned, as Fromentin says, to self-portraiture. The Dutch painters never grew tired of multiplying the portraits of the burgher class which, by endurance and sacrifice, had wrenched victory from the invading army and the invading sea and had built up an envied trade all over the world.

The development at this time of civic, social, and scientific interests furnished the painters with certain themes, treated from generation to generation. Four types of group portraits were in demand: the "Doelen" or shooting companies, the "Syndics" or merchants, the "Regents" or governing committees of charitable institutions, and the students attending anatomy clinics. Heretofore, as patrons of the arts, the guilds had ordered pictures in honour of their patron saints or objects of superlative beauty for votive offerings to the church. But in Holland as early as 1550 new requirements were made. Group portraits of members of the military guilds in the dress and with the emblems and insignia of their companies were required.

During all this time fighting was more or less constantly in progress, the country was full of troops, and "all the painters of this great, peaceful school died without having spent a day in which the roar of cannon was not heard" (Fromentin). The painters of Holland give scarcely an echo of these conditions. Happily other matters were more to their liking. Scenes of domestic life were given a prominence never before equalled, and finally there was their landscape, as distinctive as the rest of their surroundings, with its tranquil horizons and its dramatic skies. Along with these new developments in subject-matter went a fundamental change in technique. All these circumstances were calculated to produce a school more independent in its outlook than any that had preceded it.

The earliest important Dutch painter of the new era was Frans Hals (1584–1666). Although he produced some other subjects, the important work of Hals was restricted to portraiture, single figures and groups.

He was a typical Dutchman in loving "what was like" and in extracting "the beauty that is inherent in material things." In the Town Hall in Haarlem are brought together a number of his guild pictures as well as other groups illustrating all the periods of his activity, with the exception of his early years, for which there are few data.

One of his earliest known pictures is that of the "Banquet of St. George's Company," painted when he was already over thirty. Earlier successes must have led to this commission and to such excellence in its accomplishment—a masterpiece "surpassing everything of its kind that had been done in Holland" (de Groot) (Pl. 64A). The picture is of broad low proportions to accommodate the twelve men at the board. The banquet is over and they are beginning to push back their chairs and move about. The painter has shown them in characteristic gesture as they might be caught in a snapshot, without the slightest suggestion of the fatigue of models holding a pose. In order to give greater emphasis to the heads the figures are shown in a "close-up" view. An everyday occurrence is painted in the most direct fashion possible to imagine and yet it has more than a genre interest, for in it Hals has embodied not only the forceful types of the men themselves, but the dignity of their corporate life.

A comparison with Veronese's feasts might not be amiss. The aims peculiar to each painter would be accentuated and we might see as well that in essentials they looked at things from a similar

standpoint. Veronese was the greater designer and the greater colourist; everything he did was a supreme piece of decoration. Hals was the more brilliant craftsman; but they were alike in their delight "in the things that are seen."

The colour effect in this instance is almost comparable to Venetian examples. The canvas glows with the luminous green-gold of the whites, and the ruddy flesh tones. These are set off by the black costumes with sashes of a crimson colour, repeated in the flag,—all relieved against the warm interior and the tapestry-like landscape shown through the window. The line of the heads continued by the banner is not altogether fortunate, but the strong interest of the central figures perhaps sufficiently counteracts this. The magnificent execution inaugurates the modern method: "the exaltation of the exterior aspect above all else." Seeing with the eye tends to become more enthralling than seeing with the intellect through the eye. Perhaps this is a misleading statement. Certainly Jan van Eyck delighted in every secret of texture or colour that light revealed to his eyes. He wrought all his impressions into a surface no less splendid than those of his brother craftsmen in metal and enamels. But therein lies the difference between the painting of the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Hals has found a new method of conveying impressions of form, texture, and colour which makes a larger use of the visual imagination and which, instead of transcribing things with an astounding likeness to the tangible object, makes the manner of their transcription a delight in itself. He translates his material into brush work and is so assured in his mastery that by the most summary indications not only is the object revealed but its modulation in relation to all the things about it is preserved. A new interdependence of parts creates a more unified effect. Not only are the heads in their strong lighting splendidly characterized in the boldest method, but a new zest for everything which strikes the eye is seen in the beautiful execution of the accessories, the damask, the pewter, even the food itself. We are moving rapidly toward nineteenth century ideas.

The culmination was reached in the picture of the "Officers of St. Adrian's Company" painted in 1633 (Pl. 64B). Here are shown standing figures of three-quarters length, out-of-doors, arranged in two groups bound together by colour and design. What a picture to hang in their Guild-Hall! Never was Hals a more perfect decorator than in this canvas. The light falls more from

the front than in the preceding, so that although the figures are brightly illuminated the pattern is almost wholly the result of the use of contrasting colours of light and dark hue, thus simplifying the effect.

The foliage background is dark brown and against this is placed the novel harmony of blues, silvers, and ochres. The pale sky blue of the sash sweeps around the central figure, is repeated at the extreme left, and criss-crossed through the whole right side. The red, white, yellow, and blue of the flag at the left, is furled into broken colour in the centre. The principal figure of each group wears a burnt orange-ochre sash. The execution is unrivalled: "Never has any one painted better nor ever will," Fromentin says. Everything is subordinated to the general effect. The heads are completely characterized—to the ears—but every brush stroke is exquisitely calculated to preserve its relation to the whole. "The touch is expeditious, prompt, and rigorous" (Fromentin). This is perhaps the most successful of all pictures of this genre.

In addition to these, and other guild pictures, there are at Haarlem several groups of governors of charitable institutions composed of five or six half-length figures. The earliest dates from 1641, the decade following that in which the "St. Adrian's Company" was painted. The canvas is exceedingly sombre in colour. Two circumstances may account for this, as Hofstede de Groot points out. Between 1635 and 1640, Hals shows the influence of Rembrandt, which in this example is almost too evident. Also at about this time black became the fashionable colour in dress. In his later period Hals achieves his harmonies within an increasingly restricted gamut, and the earlier golden or olive hues give place to ashen grey, and, at the end, to grey-black. Often the flesh tones are the strongest colour employed; the interest is concentrated on a subtle play of closely related tones. The shadows on the flesh are almost uniformly of a tone corresponding to the background. At a little distance the decorative value of this colour harmony is evident.

One of the most impressive works of Hals is the "Directresses of the Almshouse." This he painted when he was over eighty. One is conscious that it is the work of an old man, but of an old man without a rival.

To know Hals it is essential to see these pictures in Haarlem. In the single portrait, we have witness to his mastery of his medium, but it was in giving life, variety, and beauty to the

subject peculiar to his century that his finest qualities were brought into play.

Scattered through various collections may be found his early tavern scenes. Generally the flesh tones are hot, the colour quite varied, the painting more or less uneven, as in the "Junker Ramp," where the heads are swiftly and surely laid in but the rest rather mechanically done.

With his "Jolly Toper," his "Laughing Cavalier," and the "Hille Bobbe," his method exactly corresponds to the character of the model (Pl. 63B). The somewhat unsteady toper, the swashbuckler in full good humour, and the rollicking soothsayer, all are painted in loose, bold, apparently haphazard touches of the brush. To prove, however, that his method of giving so much with so little is not haphazard, but highly scientific, we have only to select an example and, moving away, step by step, observe how, although the underpainting is only partially covered with brush strokes thrown together as loosely as jackstraws, form, solidity, and texture gradually emerge. The effort perhaps seems incommensurate with the result, but the result is achieved because "each of these instantaneous slashes is infallibly in exactly the right place" (Cox).

The method is illustrated in numberless examples. Take, for instance, the portraits of Lucas de Clercq and of his wife. Note especially how the woman's right hand, with a few touches, is perfectly drawn and foreshortened. Hands are always a marvel of draughtsmanship in Hals; it is their structure rather than their characterization that we notice. The husband is a more interesting personality. The handling is loose but incisive. Notice the modelling of the small planes of the face and the treatment of the forehead. The foreshortened right arm, here blurred, there brilliantly crisp, is fine, and the spot of ivory grey made by the gloved right hand most effective. It is not necessary to multiply instances, they can be discovered by any observer.

There are also portraits in which we come to know the people better, for example those of "Heer" and "Vrouw Bodolphe," belonging to Mr. Morgan. Everything here is reserved, exact in statement, and sombre in colour. The blacks are almost alike, but are never merged in an uncertain tone. The painting is simple: nothing is left at loose ends and yet no part is without modelling. Vrouw Bodolphe's squatty, short-waisted figure is echoed in the form of the chair, and accentuated by the fur tippet ending at the high waist line and by the clumsi-

ness of the closely pleated skirt. The intelligent and kindly face is set in a soft ruff. In spite of the heavy overhang of flesh about the eyes, their clear depths are full of life and sparkle. The face is broad through the cheek-bones, in the spacing of the eyes, in the flat rolling bridge of the nose and in the large, delicately felt mouth.

"Hals was as nearly as possible the absolute realist" (Cox). He did not see so much *more* than the ordinary observer would see, but he saw so much better. Eye and hand served him with perfected mechanism. The dexterity of his translation of sight into brush work had its dangers. The technical interest is sometimes so great that our attention is diverted from the thing said to the method of saying. "He was only a practical painter," Fromentin says—a man to whom his medium revealed its secrets as it has done to few. And in the record that he left of material objects in their halo of light, we find an incentive to look with a new attentiveness at "the things that are seen." He gives us a glimpse of the individual, whose ménage he reveals, whose quaint humour and good sense he makes apparent. He hits off the character with the brevity of a playwright, showing us people as their neighbours knew them. Insight into the deeper emotions he lacked (Pl. 63c).

CHAPTER XXXII

REMBRANDT

The figure of Rembrandt (1606–1669) is a strange one to find among the Dutch painters. With this one exception they were brilliant and scrupulous craftsmen, but never sensitive to what was hidden below the surface. They were boisterous, decorous, or grave, as the case might be, but painters always of the things that they saw. To Rembrandt these matters were almost indifferent. He was intent upon reaching the emotions. "Physical visualization for him was only introductory to the power of spiritual discernment." And so profound was that discernment that nothing else greatly mattered. The vicissitudes of his life developed this power to penetrate beneath appearance. He was increasingly driven upon his inner resources. Because of the loss of prosperity, because of the disapproval of his fellows, because of bereavement, as death took one by one all his near of kin, he saw life with increasing detachment. Although indications of this detachment may be found in his early career, it is difficult to believe that he would have attained it in an equal degree without these experiences. "In the midst of his mourning, in his humiliating misfortunes, he retained an indescribable impassivity which would be altogether inexplicable did we not know that power of recovery, of indifference, of forgetfulness, lies within a mind occupied with profound visions" (Fromentin).

It might be said that among painters Rembrandt was one of the most indifferent to his craft. No draughtsman would be directed to study the drawing of Rembrandt. No colourist would set his palette with his pigments. Kenyon Cox says, "If Rembrandt was not in the ordinarily accepted sense of the term a great draughtsman, neither was he, if the words are to be used with any strictness, a great technician."

As his insight deepens, other factors are sacrificed to the interpretative, and he is so successful in drawing us into communion with his people that the technical convention by which the miracle is wrought is practically negligible. He "reveals beauty as a state of mind to which the craft is servant and the objective contents of the image a symbol" (Rankin).

(*A*) Rembrandt. Nicolaes Bruyningh. Cassel. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Rembrandt. Portrait of an Old Lady. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*C*) Rembrandt. Old Woman cutting her Nails. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*D*) Rembrandt. Presentation. The Hague. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*A*) Velazquez. Surrender of Breda. Prado, Madrid. (Anderson)

(*B*) Rembrandt. Noli Me Tangere. Royal Palace, Brunswick

Rembrandt's immature work in Leiden shows no distinguishing excellence. The dense shadows and harshly contrasted lights were the stock-in-trade of the painters of the naturalistic school. The high finish and exaggerated contrast for which his pictures were admired at the time, no longer appear to us admirable. By 1632 he had established a reputation as a portrait painter. His removal about that time to Amsterdam may well have resulted from the hope of wider opportunities of patronage. He remained there until his death in 1669. During these forty-odd years he produced continuously. "A perpetual lust of creation" held him to his task from his early years. Almost invariably he shows the same intensity and vigour. His creative mind seizes upon the subject-matter, lives in it, unifies it, until in the greatest examples the poignancy of the expression makes existence seem colourless by contrast, for he has tapped the sources of Reality.

The first important order that Rembrandt received in Amsterdam was for a picture showing a medical clinic. This was executed at a time of intense interest in the development of medical science and experimentation. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood had been published only five years earlier. We are interested in the "Anatomy Lesson" as an evidence of Rembrandt's capacity at this time. The order was an important one, for it gave him his desired opportunity, but it was not an easy task. The problem was to make distinctive individual portraits without sacrificing the unity of the picture. Rembrandt did not succeed completely. Emotionally the picture is held together, the principal figures united by their common interest; the scientific observer watches almost breathlessly, the next man appears to be formulating a system on the basis of the demonstration, a third has consulted his notes, and so on; Dr. Tulp is an admirable expositor, but this emotional unity needs reinforcement by artistic means and they are lacking. The arrangement of the group is not very natural; in fact there *is* no group—it is an assemblage of separate entities. Without discovering any final resting place the eye passes from face to face, each so alert, and each so completely rendered. As portraits, these are good likenesses but they have none of Rembrandt's later interpretative power. The body itself which is the text for the discourse is neither well constructed nor correctly foreshortened.

The transparent, thinly covered ground, the warmth of the shadows with grey, cool half-tones, illustrate the method of execution characteristic of Rembrandt's early years. Already the

painter's eye is practised in close observation, and the hand is under strict control. The eye deciphers something; the hand reproduces it exactly; the process is repeated until the whole has been built up by a method of accretion. This is the method of a student and Rembrandt very soon abandoned it for a more synthetic treatment.

Perhaps it will be well before considering the two classes of works in which the master expressed himself most completely—Bible scenes and portraits—to speak of the other two pictures known best by every one, the "Night Watch" and the "Syndics." These three figure pictures mark three periods in his activity. When he undertook the "Anatomy Lesson," much depended on his success, for he was laying the foundation of his future career. His place as leading painter was assured before he received the commission for the "Night Watch."

No doubt the members of this shooting company expected something in the nature of a group photograph. Rembrandt had a different idea. In handling the subject in so novel a way he must have foreseen that there would be criticism. Either he considered his position assured or else he felt that he must do what he chose at whatever cost. And it did cost him dear; people were not ready to employ a painter of such independence. This dissatisfaction was added to the many other causes that combined to undermine the artist's social standing and to withdraw from him gradually the support of his townspeople. The present condition of the picture makes it impossible for us to judge whether the result was satisfactory even to Rembrandt. It is excessively dark, and the composition has been destroyed by alterations in the size of the canvas. The original arrangement may be studied in the early copy by Gerrit Lundens in the National Gallery (Pl. 63A). A comparison shows that Rembrandt's picture has been cut down slightly on all four sides. At the left side a considerable portion is missing. Without enumerating the figures now lacking, it will be evident that originally the centre of interest was farther to the right; as a result the impression of movement was better conveyed by the way in which the side masses balanced. The figures crowd forward confusedly, the quick advance of the leaders suggesting that the body of men will immediately fall into line. The picture is so dark that a fair idea of its effect is given in a sepia photograph, but we miss the variety and beauty of the colour still discernible in the original, which is diversified by touches of terra-cotta, gold, and soft moss green. The intense shadow makes the gleam of

sunshine astonishingly naturalistic. Fromentin says, "It is generally with night that Rembrandt makes day." In spite of its name, the picture probably represents the shooting company starting out in full daylight. The fact that it has been known since the eighteenth century as the "Night Watch" shows how arbitrary was Rembrandt's use of light.

In the last decade of his life the master painted the "Syndics" or "Cloth Merchants" (Pl. 64c). In this case he met the conditions squarely. He gives us the committee meeting in session, and no picture of this kind has ever been better done. Momentary attention to the words of some unseen speaker supplies the common bond as the demonstration was intended to do in the "Anatomy Lesson," but the success is greater here because one looking at the pictures finds the eyes of every member fixed upon him, as the speaker (Bode). All lines tend to meet in his eyes and he cannot fail to recognize the unity of which he is made a part. The suspended animation has nothing about it that suggests the group arranged by the photographer; the attention is vital, not mechanical.

The composition is organized with great skill. The pyramidal group in the centre is strengthened by the light pages of the book and by the strong, rich red of the oriental rug, which the light strikes as it hangs over the table edge. The curve of the man at the left frames the group on the one side, the jutting panel on the other. In this work, Cox says, Rembrandt the master craftsman and Rembrandt the dreamer meet. Probably when Rembrandt's name is mentioned most people think of one or of all of these formal figure designs, but they were by no means his most spontaneous creations. Among the paintings these are found in his religious pictures, in his single portraits, and in half a dozen landscapes.

The Gospel had been transmitted to the Catholic painters through dogmatic channels. Following changes of doctrinal emphasis, came fluctuation in subject-matter. In Giotto's day the life of Christ was treated in two chapters—the Childhood, including his Mother's life, and the Passion. The miracles which had been one of the chief sources of inspiration in the Early Church were gradually omitted and when they were revived in Venetian painting they had acquired a wholly secular meaning.

When Holland became Protestant, a new translation of the Gospel was needed. Baldwin Brown says that "for a constructive embodiment of the Protestant idea in art, Europe had to wait

till the advent of Rembrandt." He tells us that Rembrandt was connected with the sect of Mennonites, who were anti-war Quietists and who believed in direct inspiration. This explains the spirit of his religious interpretations: he is ever seeking to pierce through the symbol to its reality on the spiritual plane.

Biblical subjects, generally, but not always, of religious importance, were painted in every period of his life. One of the earliest is the "Presentation," a picture of very small dimensions which gives the impression of large spaces (Pl. 65D). With the Italians this subject was the excuse for a lovely bit of intimacy between Mary and the frightened Child. The early German and Flemish painters faithfully depicted the incidents of the ritual. Rembrandt makes it the day when Simeon saw salvation. Gazing towards the golden light streaming from an unseen upper window, he takes it as a sign, "A light to lighten the Gentiles." Part of the temple is filled with distant moving figures intent on their own religious duties. The mystery of a vast interior is suggested in the shadowed spaces. This small panel is one of a number similar in the management of light and shadow which were done at the beginning of Rembrandt's career.

In the "Woman Taken in Adultery," the setting is similar. There is scarcely any movement, for the drama is not an external one; the physical is by this means made subordinate to higher significance. How nonplused all those questioners will be by that simple figure who compels them to become their own accusers.

Rembrandt was the first to give to the subject of "John Preaching in the Wilderness" a new significance, like that given to a familiar chapter of the Gospel by a variant translation from the Greek text. The composition is carefully calculated for effect. Notice the silhouetting of John's gesture and the placing of his hand with relation to the monument and the light. See what impact is given to his word of exhortation as it is carried down by the avalanche lines of the design. The attention of the multitude is made more evident by the movement and dissension of the rabbis in the foreground.

The "Workers in the Vineyard" (1637) is interesting because of the balance of lights and darks. The great obscure opening in the distance is balanced (held in place) by the mass of objects at the left. The light sweeping down from the left is thrust against (balanced) by the crowd pushing in for its pay. Forms in the foreground facilitate entrance into the picture, and the energy of the dispute holds the attention on the main group. In the

"Nativity" Rembrandt shows in the raftered stable the silent gathering of wondering people whose lanterns throw strange shadow shapes across the floor and walls. Devotion speaks in the form of the adoring shepherd. Mystery and quiet are suggested by the lighting. Behind the group the ox ruminates in his stall.

One of the greatest of all religious pictures is the "Supper at Emmaus" (Pl. 69B). There is no other interpretation to be thought of beside this one. The medium of light becomes a symbol of the revelation dawning in the heart, the awakening of an inner sight which they spoke of afterwards: "Did not our hearts burn within us while He talked with us by the way?" It is all quiet and natural and simple. One is convinced that it happened that way. The serving boy looks with mild inquiry toward the figure at the left in whose relation to Christ the drama culminates. Peasant types and surroundings alone could furnish the setting for this parable of homely life transfigured by unexpected contact with the Divine.

Similar interpretation characterizes the wonderful "Noli Me Tangere" (Pl. 66B). The Christ has no grace or comeliness; we are not meant to think of his bodily presence. The figure of Mary expresses the tremulous, almost incredulous welcome of unexpected joy in one spent by weeping. Not only do we share the life of the individual actors in the drama but in these two pictures emotion like an electric current vibrates through the entire canvas.

It was said by Michelangelo that the marble contained the form which the sculptor had but to disclose. Rembrandt might have said that his "amber obscurity" was peopled with forms which at his will he revealed by light. It was not only the things upon which the light fell that he showed, but the mystery of darkness out of which life was to emerge. He was not the first painter to explore the esthetic possibilities of the contest of light and darkness, but in its use he created something entirely novel.

Rembrandt was one of the greatest of all story-tellers. There was no forcing of the story, no straining for effect. He brooded over it and let it teach him its poetry. He was the supreme interpreter of the life of Christ because he understood the human nature to which the Master appealed, a nature profound in its intuitions if erring in its conduct. He went to the heart of the matter and in consequence the style was epic; he gave the final message of the Gospel—the restorative power of the Spirit.

As a portrait painter Rembrandt's early work showed the

same character as his figure composition. He was interested in exact delineation and he painted full lengths, groups, and pictures in which an incident was made the excuse for portraiture. One example shows Saskia on Rembrandt's knee. It may be noted as one of the evidences of the influence of Hals. Bode says he had in mind "Junker Ramp and his Sweetheart." The influence of Hals is sometimes seen in other portraits as well, but it is a wholly superficial influence relating to the spacing and placing and perhaps to the execution, for even as early as 1635 Rembrandt assumed a more thoughtful attitude towards the model than Hals ever attempted.

The "Portrait of an Old Woman" in the Metropolitan Museum is a good example. She is dressed stiffly for the ordeal of posing. She has a kind of determination which recalls daguerreotypes of our grandmothers' day. The character of the woman, both personal and racial, is recorded—the middle class Dutch housewife of the democracy, the tired old woman with her anxious gaze under the strain of tension. Character and feeling are shown in the hands so that it seems as if, were the head obliterated, we could restore it on the evidence of the hands.

During the early years in Amsterdam, very splendid accessories and costumes appear in Rembrandt's painting. He had the love of the collector for gorgeous materials and rich jewels; he loved to own them and to design with them. The earliest portraits of Saskia show her in a dress entirely foreign to Holland in the seventeenth century, one of many costumes which Rembrandt himself designed and which are familiar to us all. Apparently only intimates and members of his family posed in this attire; other people would naturally wish to be represented as they actually dressed. Two beautiful examples are the "Saskia with the Myrtle Twig in her Hand" (Cassel), emblematic of her betrothal, and the "Saskia with a Flower" (Dresden). In both, the costumes are elaborate with jewelled trimmings and embroidered vest, and the material is a splendid mahogany coloured velvet. In the Dresden picture there is a charming freshness and a sense of friendly contact with the observer. On several occasions, Rembrandt used the motive of the extended hand. It was always beautifully painted with no fumbling over the foreshortening. It is interesting chiefly because of its relation to the frame; it shows the manner in which he paints a projecting object with a sufficient veil of atmosphere to assure us that it is inside the frame, inside the picture plane. All classes of society figured

among his models, fashionable types principally in his early years, and aged contemporaries towards the end of his life.

As an example of his portraits of fashionable sitters, we may take the "Lady with a Fan," in Buckingham Palace, which is one of his most purely beautiful canvases. In this case the light falls directly from the front and there are no masses of shadow. The figure, in the simple contrasts of her charming costume of satin and lace, is relieved against depth. The space is carefully calculated to enhance the impression of reserve and self-possession.

A masterpiece exceptional in technical excellence is the portrait of Rembrandt's friend, "Burgomaster Six," painted a decade later. In his military cloak of vermilion trimmed with gold braid, he stands drawing on his gloves. The face partly shadowed by his broad-brimmed hat is reserved and dignified. Cox cites this work as an example of Rembrandt the trained painter, a good draughtsman, a sound colourist, and a sober and admirable technician.

In the painting of "Nicolaes Bruyningh," Rembrandt employed an entirely different method, with absolute concentration on one spot of light, no pattern of accessories, even the contour of the figure difficult to trace. As so often in Rembrandt's late work, the method is inexplicable, but suddenly a *presence* is before us! The charm of the person, the "magic" of the rendering, the subtle refinement expressed, recall Titian's young Englishman. Each is a type of the best in its age (Pl. 65A).

The "Old Woman Cutting her Nails" in the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 65C) is not, as the title suggests, a genre subject. The symbolic character of the figure has been pointed out, not without justice, since it is really a study of old age. One may surmise that Rembrandt realized in happening upon this motive that the intent concentration upon an unimportant act revealed with special clearness the habitual expression of the woman's face and that the light which poured down from above served with great emphasis to mark the structure of the bones—of the skull which already asserted its predominance. It is an arresting picture, not so much as a portrait nor even as a study of a Dutch woman, but as something near to our own experience, that old age which awaits each of us.

As Rembrandt became more and more intent upon character study, he concentrated on the head, which in his late works is often lighted, like the star on the stage, by a spot-light. On these few inches of flesh the experience of his life is concentrated.

This applies both to the interpretation and to the technique. Technique is an almost meaningless term to employ, for he would probably have said he had no technique, and this would have been true. All that he does is to create, manipulating his means as mysteriously as the Almighty himself. Claude Phillips speaks of the portrait painter as one who "stands face to face with the eternal mystery and dares to recreate the created." There they are, the people that he knew better than they knew themselves. Take the "Old Lady" of the National Gallery, a small-boned, delicate, and sensitive type, beautiful and piquant in her youth, now very old, the jaw slightly dropped with almost a quaver, but the deep-set eyes steady and self-possessed. The light reveals an old, old bit of flesh, the modelling of the lower, shadowed part of her face given by the reflected light from her ruff, which, painted with a sweep of golden white, stands out very stiffly around her shrunken throat (Pl. 65B).

His old people give one the impression of life completed. They rest from their labours. The "Burgomaster" of 1661 in the National Gallery sinks with settled content in his chair. The position is habitual. The spirit is serene and grows more dominant as the body wanes.

If we could assemble all Rembrandt's portraits in one great gallery, what would the impression be? Think of all the examples you know, pass them before the memory, "look at them attentively—at the lips and the eyes," as Fromentin directs us. Are people really as interesting, as profoundly moving as that? Perhaps their neighbours never saw Rembrandt's patrons as he represents them. He shows them as "nobody but God and himself" have seen them, as they appear in moments of self-revelation too intimate for their neighbours to penetrate. When they go to Rembrandt they go to a confessional. It is the realities that he paints, things that few people suspect in their fellow men until a poet lifts the veil. "Rembrandt offers the psychologist solutions of the deepest problems of spiritual life, into which he penetrates as no other painter has ever done" (Bode). Perhaps the most universal trait is the dignity of the spirit. How he preserves it in his portraits of himself in spite of the record of age and sorrow. Taine says he "concentrates instantaneously on a face the entire history of a soul—which Shakespeare alone saw with an equally prodigious lucidity." And Cox exclaims of his portraits, "There is nothing like them, there will never be anything like them." The sordid surroundings, poverty, and loneliness of Rembrandt's

last years would have overwhelmed him had he not possessed the power to live in the world of the imagination, holding himself there so tenaciously to the very end that it is homage, not pity, that we are impelled to render him. What high courage, what grand adventure! By touches of the brush which move the heart of the world he vanquishes death which overtook him, alone, in the Amsterdam Ghetto.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE LITTLE DUTCHMEN

Bode shows that in Holland for the first time the instinct for popular art, already highly developed in the north, was directed towards a more specialized study of the individual in his domestic surroundings. The small concerns of the household became a favourite subject in the seventeenth century. The artists who devoted themselves almost exclusively to such scenes belonged to a younger generation than Hals and Rembrandt and felt the influence of both. It is necessary to limit ourselves to the most typical of these great painters of small pictures—the Little Dutchmen. Ter Borch, de Hooch, and Vermeer have been selected, but there are others, such as Jan Steen, who by certain critics have been included among the most important.

Ter Borch (1677–1681) is the earliest painter of the group. He was a man of wide experience of the world and an aristocrat whose taste was faultless. In any gallery his paintings may be recognized by their beautiful craftsmanship and by their extreme refinement.

The "Paternal Admonition" (Pl. 67A) is typical. The incident illustrates the painter's enjoyment of the serio-comic situations of life. Evidently no serious consequences follow these exhibitions of parental authority—nor are the arguments new. The mother is quite unperturbed and concentrates with admirable detachment on her liqueur in its fragile long-stemmed glass. Ter Borch's accomplished draughtsmanship enabled him to indicate the finest shades of feeling. The full-length figures are placed well in the foreground of the picture, and in the relation of scale to the surroundings the picture is characteristic. The furnishings of the large room are only dimly perceived in the prevailing tone of dark, cool umber. The group is lighted directly and the eye is enthralled by the beauty of colour and texture. Terra-cottas, vermilions, and ochres act as a foil to the white satin dress, a white made up of an indescribable play of pewter and silver sheen. Its execution is a marvel of reserve. It is never too crisp (not crisp at all), soft, never too shiny (not shiny at all), shimmering! Has any one painted satin with such a perception of its quality?

Even simpler incidents furnish the theme in such pictures as the "Lady Washing Her Hands" (Dresden), or the "Toilet" (Morgan Collection). But here, too, one is conscious of the discrimination of a sophisticated observer.

Ter Borch also used figures of a larger scale represented in half length: such, for instance, as the "Woman Parting the Child's Hair," so charming in sentiment; or the "Apple Parer," a delightful bit of interpretation. "Can she be human and not give me some?" the child seems to say.

In the "Concert" (Pl. 67B) Ter Borch has ventured to bring into the immediate foreground the ravishing coral satin of the lady's basque, which is kept in perfect harmony with the cool tones of the interior. Aside from the design of this masterpiece, the beauty of figure drawing and the perfection of rendering are notable.

The sensitiveness which made Ter Borch such a successful interpreter of character gave him enviable qualities as a portrait painter. In his miniature portraits we meet the aristocracy of Holland, never given such an appearance of fine breeding by a contemporary painter.

In a portrait in the National Gallery the gentleman looks out with a slightly anxious gaze as if he feared lest we should not fully realize his importance. He has good eyes, a long well-formed nose, a rather self-indulgent mouth, and a double chin settled into his collar. He stands rooted to the ground, a symbol of determination. His stiff black taffeta costume gives him a silhouette like a chessman, but his dignity is unimpaired. It is a portrait of high distinction in a scheme of black, umber, and rose.

Several examples in Amsterdam show clear delineation of character. None is more striking than "Madame Van der Schalke," an ugly and strong type with pronounced features, a parrot nose and large eyes suggesting a dominant personality. More winning is the "Portrait of a Lady" dressed in a silvery watered silk skirt trimmed with gold passementerie and a black cloth overdress rendered in a grey closely related to the background. The one dark note is her black velvet cap. The Japanese fan which she holds in her hand is touched with pale blue and red. The background is a gun-metal tone, the floor greyish umber. This sounds like a colour scheme of Velazquez and it is interesting to remember that Ter Borch travelled extensively and probably met Velazquez in Spain; his influence is unmistakable. Philip Hale says that Ter Borch was "first, last and always a figure painter" and he excelled as a draughtsman. In his figures the eye is led to pass

estimatingly over the salient forms; shoulders, waist, hips. The hands are strong but delicate and the ladies touch their instruments with such sensitiveness that we recognize them as accomplished musicians.

In his early period, he sometimes chose guardroom scenes, and now and then a bit of naïve humour appears in his work, but it is in the boudoir or the drawing-room that he is at his best, depicting the cultivated society of his day as he alone among the Dutch painters was qualified to do.

These groups are set in tones of a cool umber hue, dark but transparent. The scheme of colour is generally quite simple. Some one note of white, blue, or terra-cotta satin is balanced by complementary hues and a touch of intense colour is employed as an accent. The houses give evidence of the prosperity of the seventeenth century. The map on the wall, the oriental rugs, the beautiful fabrics and bits of porcelain recall the commercial activities of the Dutch East India Company.

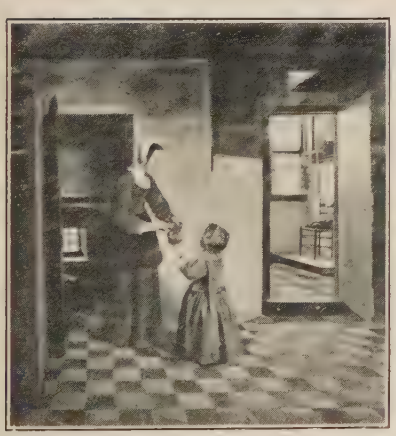
Ter Borch preserved the high level of his art to the close of his life, but the work of his pupils and of most of his contemporaries declined in the latter years of the century, losing simplicity and ingenuousness. Virtuosity was more common than fine discrimination, and the homely quality of the domestic scenes was replaced by the artificial manner of society life.

Pieter de Hooch (1629–1678), a younger contemporary of Ter Borch, worked in general on the same material, but a comparison of the results only accentuates the difference in their treatment of that material. Whereas with Ter Borch the human element was of first importance, with Pieter de Hooch, figures were introduced as a foil to accentuate effects of sunlight irradiating the apartment or to relieve too exclusive a use of angular forms. If we compare the figures with those of Ter Borch the drawing often appears slurred over, the proportions are not exact, the gestures lack assurance, the faces are weak and sometimes expressionless as if human beings had little interest for him.

His subject was a lighted interior with figures, as Ter Borch's had been people in their homes. Similar interiors may be seen at Maarken today, homelier households than those of Ter Borch. The bed is a cupboard in the wall, not a massive four-poster with hangings. There are few pieces of furniture and the principal charm is due to the impression of cleanliness and orderly living. Pieter de Hooch himself began life as a servant in a great household and lacked the education and experience of the world which

(*A*) Ter Borch. Paternal Admonition. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Ter Borch. The Concert. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (Berlin Photographic Co.)



(*C*) De Hooch. The Pantry. Ryks Museum, Amsterdam. (Bruckmann)

(*D*) De Hooch. Interior. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*A*) Vermeer. Pearl Necklace. Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Vermeer. Lady playing a Lute. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Velazquez. Venus with a Mirror. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*A*) Ruisdael. Wheatfields. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*B*) Rembrandt. The Supper at Emmaus. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*A*) Hobbema. Avenue at Middelharnis. National Gallery, London. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Cuyp. Young Herdsmen with Cows. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Gainsborough. Watering Place. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)

formed so important a part of Ter Borch's equipment. Other qualities, however, give his work equal charm.

If a group of his pictures could be brought together for study it would be evident that the working out of a geometric design was a dominating interest. Mr. Valentiner has shown that, as a school, the Dutch painters constantly resorted in their formal works to some relationship of lines in which the opposition of verticals and horizontals was emphasized. This is the scheme utilized again and again by Pieter de Hooch. Examine any one of the following: the "Mother Combing the Child's Hair" (Amsterdam), the "Card Players" (Buckingham Palace), the "Visit" (Havemeyer Coll., New York), and see how completely the division of space could be suggested by drawing a series of related rectangles—the room in its perspective, the windows or bed cupboard, the pictures on the wall, the fireplace, the door opening into a court or adjoining room. Corresponding forms repeated in the room beyond in smaller scale delight the eye by their rhythmical relation to the first series. In the tiled floor the rectangle is employed as a diamond, or checkerboard pattern. The furniture is not carelessly placed but, as a rule, accentuates rather than breaks through the formal arrangement. It is perfectly evident that this pattern was a source of satisfaction to the painter's eye. He was composing in this way in the "Pantry Scene" (Pl. 67c), and we may still discern, even in the photographs, a picture on the wall above the woman's head which the artist painted out. The reasons for this alteration are evident: its size is too near that of objects in the inner room to interest the eye. Moreover, the unoccupied space is an advantage, and the woman's figure with relation to the door opening is better for not having above a too well defined shape.

With the interest of the seventeenth century in plastic form and depth, the difficulty of design was increased because it must be worked out in three dimensions. The relation of ground-plan to elevation became proportionally more important at this time. Not only must the objects be considered with reference to the breadth and height of the canvas but excellence must also be achieved in their relation to the depth indicated.

If the figures in Pieter de Hooch's work were not literally an afterthought, they were introduced chiefly in order that the element of cubic space which his design was calculated to create should receive emphasis by their accent. Scarcely secondary to his interest in the design was that in its illumination. Some-

times he shows the sun streaming into the room, at other times he chooses an exposure where light, but not sunshine itself, envelops everything. An excellent example is the "Interior of a Dutch House" (National Gallery) (Pl. 67D). Note as typical the line scheme, the creation of lighted spaces, and the weak figure drawing. Sometimes we look from a dim interior across a canal to houses bathed in sunlight, sometimes he sets his group in the courtyard as in the beautiful example in the National Gallery; this is a study of the brightness of a day without sunshine, when all the local colours exhibit their full strength of hue and the surface play of colour values is particularly delightful.

Throughout his art, problems of abstract design are by Pieter de Hooch made a part of his study of tridimensional space. His pictures charm us by spaciousness and luminosity. The sentiment is sometimes as grave and reticent as that of Chardin. As a rule the execution lacks scrupulous care; the painter seems almost indifferent to the opportunities for exquisiteness of touch and rendering in which Ter Borch would have delighted. His colours, often strongly contrasted blacks, crimsons, and white are rich and harmonious but never the paramount interest.

The art of Jan Vermeer (1632–1675) is one of the most precious discoveries of the nineteenth century. When Fromentin wrote his book, Vermeer's name was not mentioned. Already he had passed into oblivion and his works had been parcelled out among his contemporaries. And yet, reassembled, they exhibit a singularly personal attitude.

The themes he treated most successfully are everyday incidents enacted by a solitary individual or sometimes by two. He had no power to conceive ideal scenes and when he tried he failed lamentably. In order to appreciate his originality we must try to keep our minds free from memories of modern painting, which owes so much to his influence.

His study of tone relations and colour values was an all-absorbing interest. The figure was one element only in his design and as such it received punctilious care; but for him a lady or a jug—it was indifferent—both were beautiful. Nevertheless his figures, occupied with the most insignificant detail of the moment, carry with them a quality of reserve which seems to endow them with distinction.

The "Lady with the Pearl Necklace" (Pl. 68A) well illustrates this. The half-length figure bathed in the light from the casement stands adjusting her necklace as she considers the effect in the

mirror opposite. Is there another example in the whole range of art where so insignificant an act has been charged with such sweet reserve and delicacy? Possibly the Greek grave monument of Hegeso is comparable. Not only is its motive similar but its tranquillity and impersonality suggest comparison. Like the Greeks, Vermeer depicts these incidents without sentimentality, expecting them to appeal to us as they appealed to him. In their particular field they have no rivals.

Philip Hale defines design as "the arranging or studying out of an agreeable or significant pattern for the picture." It is design in this sense that was Vermeer's goal. His pictures are arrangements in which the exact placing of the elements, human as well as inanimate, have been a primary concern. Divergence of a hair's breadth would throw out the perfect adjustment he has so ardently achieved; for, if he is impersonal in presentation, he is anything but indifferent to his means of captivating the eye. It is a calculated, not a spontaneous product, for all its naturalness and unaffectedness.

The relationship of tones which is preserved even in a black and white reproduction illustrates that mastery of values, "unexcelled," Philip Hale says, "if not unequalled." But light and shadow are given by *values* of *colour* and we should endeavour to recreate these in our imagination. The light which traverses the wall, in the Berlin picture, passes from ivory to silver grey. It has an indescribable beauty. Nor is it fanciful to suggest that a bit might be cut out and mounted as a precious stone (Lucas). Rarely in Western art does space play a positive part in the composition, but this large area of modulated light might almost be considered the subject. Bathed in this vibrating medium, now lost in it, now accentuated against it, stands the half-length figure in the ermine trimmed jacket of yellow old-gold, a colour repeated in the curtains at the casement. The flesh tones appear very cool. In her hair, she wears a bit of coral ribbon. The darks of the foreground are of an indefinable bluish cast. This blond colouration with its play of complementaries is characteristic of Vermeer.

In visualizing his scenes the painter's position generally is taken quite near to his subject so that figure and furniture are shown only in part. Lines move in angles rather than in curves and form part of a severe scheme. Certain bits of studio property recur often: the yellow jacket and the pearls which this lady wears, the map of the United Provinces, the oriental rug, and

above all, this corner of the room with its leaded casement, different days and hours setting the key for different harmonies.

Abstract problems of design assumed so great a prominence in Vermeer's work that one should study several examples of the same type in order to see how alert his eye was to mark new relationships due to changes in lighting, and new harmonies due to a different selection of complementaries. For similarity of composition and colour scheme and for perfection of rendering, three pictures are to be classed with the "Lady with the Pearl Necklace"—the "Lady Standing at the Virginals" (National Gallery), the "Young Woman with a Water Jug" (Metropolitan Museum), and the "Woman Reading a Letter" (Amsterdam).

The reversal of the scheme of lighting discussed above is illustrated in the "Lady Seated at the Virginals" (National Gallery). The duskily shadowed corner of a room is represented with lambrequins drawn. The light enters from a window at the left outside the picture plane. It strikes the figured hanging and the 'cello in the immediate foreground and fully illuminates the figure at the keyboard—a round-faced, plump little person in a green-blue satin overdress glinting in the light. A paler illumination reaches the grey wall behind her. The black and white tiling of the floor is almost obliterated in the shadow. The blue of the dress is repeated in the tapestry and in a subdued shade in the window hanging.

Most of the pictures painted by Ter Borch and de Hooch have a transparent umber ground; those of Vermeer are grey and even the light is sometimes oyster grey or pale ivory. He does not attempt sunlight but softer irradiation, perhaps from a northern exposure. Blue plays a predominating part.

Blue was never before given such importance in the work of any painter nor had it appeared as a controlling scheme in individual paintings. We may inquire whether there were any circumstances to account for this preference for a cool harmony. Hale reminds us that Vermeer was a native of Delft, where he painted all his life, and that it was at this period that the blue china of Delft was produced. This may have influenced him, though other painters of Delft remained unaffected, since with his preference for subtle values and for colour schemes free from the more sensuous, warm harmonies the pottery might well have been suggestive.

Another interesting possibility discussed by Philip Hale is that Vermeer may have been acquainted with Japanese prints. These

often were brought into Holland as wrapping for imported goods. The process of block printing necessitated simple colour schemes, and a yellow and blue combination was not infrequent. Moreover, the utilization of unoccupied space as a positive element in composition which has been mentioned as rare in Western art is constantly employed in the East. Interesting as these considerations may be, whatever Vermeer derived from outside sources was comparatively unimportant as his originality was due to his sensitive constitution as a colourist.

Hale believes that Vermeer's technical method is illustrated in that of the "Painter in his Studio." We look over his shoulder as he paints and see him laying the wreath about the head of Fame. Without the use of a line-drawing he picks up the values of colour which we see and lays them side by side to construct the planes of light and shade by which form is realized. "His pictures exist entirely as juxtaposition of light and shadow."

A similar method is illustrated in the "Lace Maker" (Louvre). The hands are brought up to the immediate foreground so that even in the photograph the treatment may be examined. In another technical matter Vermeer anticipated later painters. In a sense he was the first of the "pointillists." The curious little dots of pigment which in reproduction look like the poppy seeds on a Viennese roll are most evident in the "Cook" (Hague) and in the "View of Delft." By their means, he sought the vibration and life of colour which are enhanced by the play of warm and cool hues juxtaposed.

Two pictures of a very different type should not be overlooked. The "Head of a Young Girl" in the Hague is among the works of rare beauty in the Dutch school. In a scheme of pale blue and old gold the brilliantly lighted face turns towards the spectator all animation and delicate aliveness. It is simple, ingenuous, and very real.

Almost unprecedented in the history of landscape is Vermeer's "View of Delft." The sky, a luminous, cool summer sky "which cannot be paralleled elsewhere" (de Groot), is patterned with great raw umber and white clouds, one of which throws a shadow over the middle distance. Sunlight touches the little red-tiled roofs beyond the central bridge, the church tower, and the tawny-coloured buildings at the right. The quality of the old stone buildings could not be more perfectly suggested. In front of these the light glances over blue slate roofs which make one colour pattern with the trees. The water, with a cool greenish reflection

of the sky, has just the quiet tone to unite it to the shadow. A boat and several black and white figures give accent in the foreground of warm pale orange earth. This picture is unique in seventeenth century art and Bode comments upon its influence upon the modern treatment of such scenes.

Vermeer recorded his observations with unerring truth as a result of his peculiar gift for seeing things simply in their essential form. He does not represent the commonplace world that most of us see, for nature sang to him in a harmony of coloured light—light like that described by Ruskin which transfigures the world and glorifies by its magic everything that it touches (Pl. 68B).

At his best Jan Steen (1626–1679) was a painter comparable with those already discussed, although his production was very uneven. His subjects were diversified and he dealt largely with the life of the people. "He accompanies man from the cradle to the grave and describes joys and sorrows in the houses of all classes with inexhaustible delight in characteristic situations." His work was often mediocre but there are passages of beauty even in his less successful canvases.

An excellent example is the "Woman Feeding a Parrot" (Amsterdam). The artist has been captivated by an effect of colour and by simple characteristic movements and has made them the centre of an artistic whole of great charm. Every part is painted beautifully, especially the woman's upraised hand and arm.

Genre subjects made a natural appeal to the painters of the Netherlands and examples in every European gallery show how excellent were even the lesser men of this great period, such as Gerard Dou (1613–1675), Nicolas Maes (1632–1693), and Gabriel Metsu (1630–1667). But the impulse was exhausted by the end of the seventeenth century and from that time until our own day there has been no national school. It is significant that the revival of Dutch painting in the late nineteenth century has once more given prominence to the life of the people in the paintings of Mauve, Israels, and others.

CHAPTER XXXIV

DUTCH LANDSCAPE

One phase of painting in the consideration of Holland's art remains to be discussed, the landscape. Dutch painters were the first to specialize as landscape painters. Taking the typical motives surrounding them they discovered in the fitful light of the sky and the "vapour-drenched" land an inexhaustible source of inspiration.

The earliest painter of this group, Hercules Seghers (1590–1640), is little known. He was a pioneer in modern landscape, as may be seen in examining his etchings, astonishing achievements as regards both composition and technical expedients. Their invention, vigour, and diversity are endless and mark him as one of the most individual students of the subject. Few of his finished paintings are known and until recently even these appeared under the name of Rembrandt or of Ruisdael. The most notable are the "Mountain Landscape" in the Uffizi and the "Desolate High Valley" in Edinburgh.

Subject, composition, and romantic beauty explain the earlier attribution of these pictures to Rembrandt, who, as a landscape painter, was deeply indebted to the influence of Seghers. Landscapes are rare among Rembrandt's paintings, but in his etchings he recorded all the typical aspects of the country, his needle passing over the plate with swift and delicate touches. He defines the shapes of things and by contrast with the white paper he suggests the illusion of light. His paintings also show Dutch motives, yet they stand in as strong contrast to the work of his contemporaries as do the other productions of his mature period, and for the same reason they excel as works of the imagination. The earlier attribution to Rembrandt of the painting in the National Gallery in which small figures of Tobias and the angel appear is now questioned, and the authorship of this much-discussed canvas is undetermined, but its magnificent quality as a composition calls for mention. A rhythm of repeated darks follows and hastens the steps of the foreground figures. The clouds press across the sky moving to the right and break to reveal the lighted horizon. It

is highly dramatic and imaginative. The "Mill" in Mr. Widener's Collection (Philadelphia) is generally recognized as Rembrandt's finest landscape. The subject was one of constant recurrence in Dutch painting, yet with all its simplicity Rembrandt's picture is mysterious and profound. Its emotional power is not to be analysed, but technically its effect is created through his contrast of light with obscurity "made visible," a method in which La Farge says "he worked with a perfection so complete that even nature's use of similar mystery bears his name."

But the inspiration of the Dutch painters as a whole was found in the familiar and habitual aspect of their country: "Nature herself paints in Holland . . . and compels painting in amateurs today" (Rankin). So were the older painters "compelled" to struggle in the attempt to delineate those qualities of light and vapour, "lucid and lucent," perpetually changing with season and time of day, which are the intrinsic material of landscape art. Concentration upon these aspects was natural in a country where the sky as the source of light loomed so large. In canvas after canvas there is a rough division of one to two, or one to three parts, in favour of the sky. "The vast oblong" of the land is intruded, so to speak, between the sky and the waters with difficulty held back from obliterating it, and it serves as the stage upon which the drama of light and shadow is set forth. The broad flat distance is intersected by the dunes and "the very lack of salient landscape features gives to the elemental and vegetative commonplaces, extraordinary significance, character, meaning" (Rankin).

"Pioneers of Landscape, obscure painters like Esaias van der Velde (c. 1590–1630), the master of van Goyen (1596–1656), on the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, reached objective expression of these features, and van Goyen in his best paintings works out the motives" (Rankin). By 1642 he was executing silvery pictures in which he gives concrete expression to typical aspects. His subject is sometimes moving masses of clouds and light, at other times river scenes, all grey and misty, in which the atmosphere unifies the picture.

Jan van der Cappelle (c. 1624–1679) was a painter of river and coast scenes, shimmering under wide blue and silver skies. In simple examples, one sail or group of boats accentuates this airiness. In more ambitious scenes, his composition is often scattered and spotty. Such subjects retained their popularity to the close of the century, but few of these men were able with complete success to realize the great distance indicated by their perspective.

Their skies are "like" in colour and atmosphere, but they do not always suggest "that inverted bowl we call the sky."

The painter who best understood the structure of clouds and atmospheric perspective was Jacob van Ruisdael (1628–1682). Constable says, "Ruisdael . . . delighted in, and has made delightful to our eyes, those solemn days, peculiar to his country and to ours, when, without storm, large rolling clouds scarcely permit a ray of sunlight to break the shades of the forest. By these effects, he enveloped the most ordinary scenes in grandeur. . . ." His feeling for pictorial unity is most successfully exhibited in the scenes which are typically local, as the "Bleaching Fields at Haarlem" or the "View over Flat Wooded Country" (National Gallery). In the latter the tone is very dark. The massing of the foreground accentuates the effect of light and the poetry of the *effect* is the subject. A sudden gleam illuminates the clouded sky and touches to green-gold a meadow in the middle distance; a line of transparent blue marks the horizon. Against the lighted space rises the village church.

The "Wheatfields" (Pl. 69A) represents a day when cloud shadows scud over the fields. Painted in a dull studio, the canvas, nevertheless, vibrates with life. A sudden illumination carries the value of the wheatfield higher than the lighted cloud. A powerful cannonading of clouds at the left hangs low over the ground and pulls the eye inward so that one feels the suction of the centre of the canvas. This reminds us of Fromentin's remark, "All Dutch painting is concave." By this means we are led into the picture, although the tangle of objects in the foreground makes of our entrance an obstacle race. The illusion of moving light is extraordinary and in the presence of the original, the truth with which atmospheric conditions are rendered makes us forget the unnatural colours. The wheat is pale from the nurture of such intermittent northern sunshine as appears here, but its soft undulation recalls memories of all harvest fields.

Ruisdael often treated mountain streams and romantic ruins, quite uncharacteristic of Holland. These motives seem to be Norwegian, and to have reached him through the work of Everdingen. There were fine forest subjects near at hand also, and Ruisdael's trees are treated with admirable feeling for plastic form. These may be studied in the examples in Dresden and also in the "Landscape" in the Metropolitan Museum. This picture is not sky and woods merely, but a view of nature, a composition carefully built up from concrete motives. It has "that peculiar

thrill which comes from the communication of some vital creative force in the artist." The sky is not a flat plane; as Fromentin has remarked, "Ruisdael discovers in it arabesques which carry on those of the subject, he disposes dull masses in it, brings down light from it." The picture is full of movement and has fine plastic reality, no line or value being forced. The contours, varied in sharpness, indicate the spatial planes, as in the great tree which stands free in air, its branches unfurled to the wind. The picture is studied but poetic. After observing Ruisdael's feathered groves, sober and cold, one may go out-of-doors expecting to find nature altogether unlike. But if it is what is called a colourless day, the whole scene is astonishingly in key with Ruisdael, and the trees show the same broken, tasselled edges that he studied and gathered into rhythmic masses. So we may make our own through sympathy another's method of seeing. Fromentin says that Ruisdael expressed "a lofty and sustained thought in language of the strongest fibre."

Other contemporaries developed different aspects of light and of composition. Cuyp (1620–1691) painted a great variety of subjects all swimming in the clear gold of late afternoon light. His distances melt into a hazy warmth of sun-illumined atmosphere. One basks in the heat. His scenes of men and cattle might be named "Tranquillity" or "Rest." Fromentin says that his cows are treated as if they were forms of nature. In the "Young Herdsmen with Cows" (Pl. 70B) the cattle, monumental in their immobility, well illustrate this remark. We do not think of the picture as an animal picture but as an interpretation of nature in which animals have their importance as contributing to the effect. Their bulk serves to accentuate the impalpable amber distance. The vegetation brought into the foreground is treated with simplicity and fulfils its function without disturbing the eye by complicated forms. This generalization gives Cuyp's execution a greater breadth than is usual with his contemporaries. "His art is entirely simple and whole-hearted" (Bode).

Hobbema (1638–1709) generally shows "an honest healthy naturalism," and in nearly every example there are beautiful passages. His masterpiece, the "Avenue at Middelharnis" (Pl. 70A), is considered by Hofstede de Groot the "finest Dutch picture after Rembrandt's 'Syndics.'" A particular locality inspired a rendering in which the specific motive has been given formal and abstract beauty. The great avenue is shown as it might appear to a child traversing the long level road where no landmark seems

to vary with progress. The mighty uprights of the tree trunks by their endless repetition serve only to punctuate the distance yet to be covered. This conscious exaggeration of horizontal and vertical lines, lines of stability and of growth, produces a stylistic effect of the highest excellence. The silvery blue of the sky over which transparent grey clouds float, fills the atmosphere with a soft light which pervades the entire canvas. This picture is unique among Hobbema's works.

He frequently employs wooded motives similar to those of Ruisdael, although usually the domestic element is more in evidence, as in a village church or a few houses. At times he is uncertain himself as to what interests him most and carries the eye along from one point to another without sufficient centralization. Delightful bits sometimes might be cut to advantage from his larger pictures. In other examples we realize the justice of Ruskin's remark: "A middle distance of Hobbema's involves a contradiction in terms. It states a distance by perspective which it contradicts by distinctness of detail."

The "Entrance to a Village" is a good example of his "impressive and vigorous prose" (Metropolitan Museum). The sky is full of sun and air. The trees make agreeable masses, but they have less plasticity than those of Ruisdael. The contours lack generalization and the treatment suggests ravelled edges. On this account Hobbema's trees sometimes look like pressed seaweed. Although there is space in the charming distance at the right, made the subject of the painting by a sudden gleam of the sunlight, the planes are less exactly marked than in Ruisdael's work.

Hobbema closes the list of seventeenth century landscapists whose observation of nature's ever changing manifestations gave the initial impulse to landscape painting in the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER XXXV

ENGLISH FIGURE PAINTING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

It was not until the eighteenth century that England appeared as a factor in the general history of painting. British genius was expressed in literature rather than in the arts of space. Armstrong says that little continuity can as yet be given to the history of painting in England before the advent of Holbein about the middle of Henry VIII.'s reign. The popularity of his painting set the type for English work, but no important artists appeared among his followers to carry on his art.

A new impulse was given by the arrival of van Dyck in the first half of the seventeenth century. His sensitiveness enabled him to interpret the English people so successfully that the tradition he established persisted throughout the eighteenth century. Van Dyck had a number of well trained assistants and his immediate school might have attained a higher level had it not been for civil war conditions.

At the Restoration painting was reinstated under the leadership of Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680) who at times showed originality and competent technique. But the influence of Kneller (1646–1723), who followed, was entirely demoralizing and the work produced was lifeless and superficial. These men also were foreigners by birth and training, and the history of painting in England until the eighteenth century is the record of a struggle against foreign invasion (Armstrong).

English painting as a national art began with Hogarth (1697–1764) in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Hogarth was bitter in his attacks, in season and out of season, upon the hold of tradition in English painting. His independence and success in pursuing an individual path had its influence, even though his ability as a painter was not fully recognized until fifty years after his death. Hogarth was a middle-class Englishman outside the social circle of Reynolds and Gainsborough. He painted people in a straightforward way just as they were, and he was an admirable story-teller. Most of his narrative pictures relate a series of episodes and are intended to point a moral: such are the

"Rake's Progress," "Marriage à la Mode," and others. The society he shows is so artificial that the chief interest of the pictures as illustration is the exhibition of fashions and etiquette of a past generation. This is given in the most vivacious way. As on the stage, every individual is an expert in his part and throws himself into it with genuine relish. Hogarth himself says, "My picture is my stage, and men and women my players." The chief incident is clearly seen in spite of various stage asides among the different actors. The satirical humour is made all the more pungent by its translation into sparkling technique (Pl. 72c).

In "Marriage à la Mode" the colour is related by the note of orange-red variously modulated from canvas to canvas. The "Dressing Room" is particularly lovely in colour and the paint is laid on freshly and crisply. The scale of the figure groups in relation to the backgrounds, the careful attention to perspective, and the beauty of the transparent tone make these pictures models of genre painting. This series takes its place beside Chardin and Ter Borch. Hogarth has less attractive material at his disposal in these overcrowded eighteenth century rooms, but how splendidly he has risen to his task! The setting is perfectly adapted for the play and every inch is a delight as craftsmanship. The tawdriness of the interior is shown, but the method of execution is so skilful that detail is subordinated to esthetic requirements.

The same clear perception of the artistic problem is illustrated in Hogarth's portraits. The likeness is full of animation and however ornate the costume or setting may be, he never loses sight of its relation to the whole, at the same time touching it in in the most lively fashion.

"Mrs. James" (Worcester) is typical. How frank and wholesome she seems in her middle-class self-satisfaction which is entirely free from pretence! She is a china-doll person, but she is seen and rendered by a most *vital* painter. How well mated she is with the smug and prosperous tradesman, her husband, a Babbitt of the eighteenth century! The picture of Hogarth's "Servants" is a record of human beings seen without any preconceived idea, capable, intelligent, cheerful people, beautifully painted by a sound method entirely his own, and infinitely more interesting than the lords and ladies of English society. The sketch of the "Shrimp Girl" is a marvel of spontaneous life. The radiance of morning seems to break in her smile. The parts dashed in, and the underpainting untouched, are equally alive. It might have been done by a twentieth century painter (Pl. 72A).

In a late portrait, Hogarth shows himself seated before a canvas on which is drawn the figure of the Comic Muse holding a mask in her hand. Before his easel the whole world stood unmasked, and it is the genuineness and integrity both in general outlook and in technical procedure which we most admire in his work. But Hogarth did not possess the taste or the style wholly to please English eyes. Van Dyck had established their national ideal and they looked for a successor of the old masters who would respect tradition.

Broadly speaking, the work of the school is comprised of portraiture and landscape and the requirements for the former were definitely prescribed. The picture must be effective as decoration for the great houses of the day, which necessitated a tapestry-like disposition of masses, and the personages represented must be so treated that they would appeal to later generations as desirable ancestors, pleasing in their union of beauty, virtue, and refinement. So, in place of the somewhat vulgar middle-class society shown by Hogarth, we mingle in the later eighteenth century with such guests as we might meet at a society function, a garden-party, or an afternoon tea, and some of the formality of such an occasion hedges them about. The subjects are not always of this character, however. We are sometimes allowed to penetrate into the nursery and discover a mother at play with her children. The domestic instinct so strongly marked in everything English gives to their painting one of its most individual traits.

Unfortunately the work of the leading English portrait painters is very inadequately represented in public collections. Reynolds and Gainsborough were prolific painters and much of their work was slight and superficial. The impression given by the canvases generally accessible must be corrected by a study of their more representative works in private collections.

Reynolds (1723–1792) early acquired a reputation as a portrait painter, first in Devonshire and later in London. But in spite of his success he realized the need of more extensive training and in 1749 he went to Italy where he remained for three years supplementing what instruction he had received at home by the study of the old masters. The faculty for harmonizing the parts of his composition he acquired from this study. He also admired the beauty of Venetian colour, but his success in the use of colour can no longer be estimated as his pigments have changed and faded.

Reynolds is particularly happy in the ensemble of his pictures. The figures are harmoniously placed in the field, and the soft

curves lead the eye pleasantly from one part to another. Fashions are pleasing and lend themselves to the graceful languor of the poses. The background, generally a convention of park foliage, is composed with reference to the effect seen from a distance.

Such pictures are almost as much a part of the baronial hall for which they were intended as is the Italian altar-piece for the dim church interior. But often Reynolds has assumed that a decorative formula is a sufficient excuse for his labours, and when we attempt to make a close analysis of the picture we are disappointed by its meagre content. The contours and curves of the body which make such smooth railroads for the eye, on examination seem rather flat and empty. The rhythms are calligraphic, not plastic. They lack the richness of an arabesque whose lines rise and fall in the definition of form in three dimensions. There is a certain unctuousness of style which, while not insincere, is lacking in directness and candour. Yet we are charmed with his charm.

As an example of the full-length women's portraits, "Lady Bamfylde" (Pl. 71c) might be chosen. The picture is characteristic of his manner, and it is a lovely tableau excelling in space and linear harmony. From across the gallery the effect is delightful; perhaps this is all we should ask. But it is hard to regard as a *completed painting* a canvas which looks like an admirable preparation. It appears to be in just the right condition for the final painting to be begun. Its colour is a harmony of golden umbers with touches of rose and blue, such as the painter might lay in to relieve monotony for the moment. So far it is enchanting. We may assume that this is a graceful underpainting and imagine it as gaining vigorous life with every additional touch, the transparent colour falling into pulsating relation to the flowing touches of pigment later to be added. But it is not an underpainting: the artist left it as it stands for a finished work, yet as such it seems inadequate.

Among the women's portraits a late example, that of "Lady Price," painted when he was sixty-three, is distinguished by its brilliant fresh colour and by the sprightliness of the interpretation.

Subjects from child life play an important part in English painting, and Sir Joshua was especially happy in his interpretation. Harmony of line and gentle attractiveness amply suffice for the "Age of Innocence." One of the most striking portraits of a child is the "Master Crew as Henry VIII." (1776), which Horace Walpole called "a quotation from Holbein." In certain instances we are reminded of Armstrong's remark: "Reynolds watched

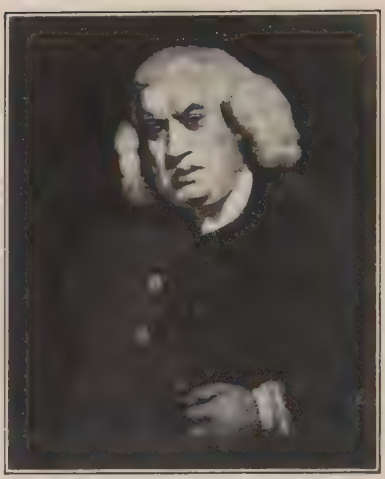
(*A*) Gainsborough. The Honorable Mrs. Grahame. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh. (Mansell)

(*B*) Gainsborough. Mrs. Siddons. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*C*) Reynolds. Lady Bamfylde. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)

(*D*) Reynolds. Lady Cockburn and her Children. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)

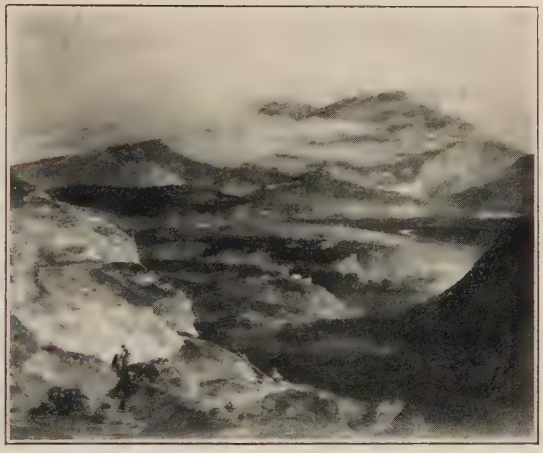
(*A*) Hogarth. The Shrimp Girl. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)



(*B*) Reynolds. Portrait of Johnson. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)

(*C*) Hogarth. Marriage à la Mode. Shortly after the Marriage. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Berlin Photographic Co.)

(*A*) Crome. Slate Quarries. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)



(*B*) Constable. Hay-Wain. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*C*) Turner. Ulysses deriding Polyphemus. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*A*) Constable. The Cornfield. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)

(*B*) Crome. Mill on Mousehold Heath. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

(*C*) Turner. Crossing the Brook. National Gallery, London. (Mansell)

children with the same kind of interest as we do strange animals in the Zoo;" and often, with their bright eyes and pointed chins, they look like some kind of burrowing creature who has suddenly been attracted by an alien presence. Reynolds was tempted in some cases to carry such resemblances to an extreme as the names of certain pictures imply, such as "Robinetta" and "Muscipula" (the 'Mouse').

One of the delightful themes specially characteristic of the master is that of the mother and children. A wholly new character was revealed in the domesticity and intimacy of these Anglo-Saxon scenes. Reynolds tells us delightful things about the English people, but he does not always make us feel that only in paint could those ideas be conveyed. It is perhaps ungracious to imagine what Rubens would have made of "Lady Cockburn and her Children" (Pl. 71D). Think of the shell-like delicacy of baby flesh, the play of cool, as well as warm, shadows, the luscious and melting surfaces. Reynolds' execution lacks such imagination and suggestiveness; he is not infatuated with the painter's medium. In studying reproductions we are apt to think that much of the original beauty has been lost in the process, but Reynolds is surprisingly well represented in colour prints. How very true is the Medici print of "Lady Hoar with her Baby," one of his most winning productions.

These are the pictures by which the painter is best known. But he did a number of male portraits which give us a high esteem for his powers of characterization. In that of "Johnson," note the lumbering weight of the figure, the heavy features, broadly constructed nose, sagging mouth. He is ponderous, oppressive, vast. In this instance it seems severe to say "the picture is interesting because the man is interesting" (Meier-Graefe); here, if ever, Reynolds has seen his man (Pl. 72B). As contrast of types observe "Admiral Hughes," round-headed and ruddy, or "Lord Heathfield" (one of his best works), a John Bull type, with beetling brows, paroquet nose, long straight chin, low forehead, and big slab cheek. The complexion is tanned and dusky. The head is at the same time brought out from, and united with, the background which represents the Rock of Gibraltar almost concealed by dense cannon smoke, very effectively contrasted with his vermilion coat.

The estimate of Reynolds' ability varies widely. He gave a complete picture of English society and English characteristics, and later painters of the school had little to add or to alter in

what he had staked out as the artistic interests of the nation, Armstrong speaks of his "never flagging invention and contrivance" as unique among eighteenth century painters, and Horace Walpole in refuting the charge of plagiarism says, "The exuberance of his [Reynolds'] invention will be the grammar of future painters of portraits." Meier-Graefe feels that his pictures do not require our utmost powers of attention, much as they charm us at first sight. Perhaps this explains their popularity, for "that which we understand at once is generally the outside shell only, like to the dress and manners of a person, and it needs art of our own to find out if it is hollow or if it contains a fruit" (Meier-Graefe).

In the work of Gainsborough (1727–1788), convention is less apparent. His easy artistic temperament, his love of music, and his carelessness of social convention were in strong contrast to Reynolds. As a result of his varied activities he came to his easel with fresh perception, and when his model charmed him he was able to record most happily the essence of her feminine loveliness. Often it was an impression such as one might receive in a casual meeting—of elegance, graciousness, and refinement. Gainsborough's great achievement was the creation of a type, and it was in his full-length portraits of women that he made his most beautiful contribution to the work of the school. Without showing any specific likeness to van Dyck they carry on the Flemish tradition now for the first time adequately expressed in the work of an English painter. Nevertheless his power of interpreting character falls far short of that of van Dyck. Ordinarily his observation is casual, and in common with most eighteenth century painters he lacks abandonment to his art; his work in consequence is decorative rather than interpretative in the deeper sense. There are exceptional examples in which a strong individual note is struck, but often the painter makes profitable use of the mask of the society woman, the expression is immobile, the eyes, in narrow slits, move back and forth mechanically like those of a French doll. In "Perdita Robinson," the fragrant loveliness of the body is suggested while the attraction vanishes in the face, where the languor of the eyes seems consciously provocative and subtlety is lost.

Gainsborough's compositions are more spontaneous than those of his rival. He did not so carefully prepare the artistic mould into which his human material must fit. There are no linear patterns like those of Reynolds although the play of masses often

makes an unstudied rhythm of equal beauty. Considering his fashionable clientele and the similarity of the commissions he received, the variety and grace of arrangement are remarkable.

This is particularly evident in moving figures; that of Mrs. Beaufroy walks towards the right, having just passed the centre of the canvas. The figure moves with a delicate lilt that is altogether charming. The horizon is low and the space is almost entirely occupied by the tall figure. The approaching group is beautifully illustrated in the famous "Morning Walk," where the spirit of eighteenth century courtship is suggested. In "Mrs. Moody and her Children" there is similar movement. Everything is subordinated to the group, the oval contours of which are accentuated by the dark foliage. The brilliant flesh of the face and neck form the highest light. Delicate shades of rose, vermilion, and faint blue are charmingly combined.

Gainsborough's technical method was quite unlike that of his contemporaries. Armstrong says that he was one of the first painters to use colour as it was later employed by the Impressionists. By this means both figures and surroundings are enveloped in a colour haze often harmonious and limpid. The loose treatment of the strokes tends to obliterate contours and to unite the elements in a decorative ensemble. Spatial planes are disregarded and the interest is dispersed over the whole area as in a tapestry. This merging of the elements of the composition has been compared to Rubens from whom it differs, however, by lack of the plastic three-dimensional character which in the work of the Flemish master gives more life to the forms as design.

Among the examples of Gainsborough's male portraits the "John Russell" and "General Lawrence" in the National Portrait Gallery present an interesting contrast but, as has been said, he was primarily the painter to celebrate the charm of the English lady. The full beauty of Gainsborough's painting is shown in the "Honourable Mrs. Grahame" (Pl. 71A). The face is attractive and animated, the figure stately, and the surroundings bring out the distinguished quality of the model. In the first rank among his paintings must be placed the "Portrait of Mrs. Siddons" (Pl. 71B). In this instance he has not had recourse to the usual ornamental accessories—the model is seated indoors and a dark curtain forms the background. This encourages concentration upon the interpretation of character and it is the interest of the painter in his famous model which gives this picture a greater force than is usual. We know from the anecdotes that the final triumph was

only achieved after a struggle. It is the face, drawn with such nice discrimination, and the brilliant painting of the flesh, which hold the interest. But nowhere is the charm lost, for the figure makes a handsome pattern and the costume of blue and white striped silk is set off by the dark feathered hat and by the filmy chiffon about the throat.

Gainsborough has not made those ventures into the intimacy of the family which furnished so many interesting themes to Reynolds. He painted a number of groups of rural children in landscape surroundings but they lack the merriment and the naïveté of Reynolds. The children whose portraits he painted often look as if they came out of the Rollo books, languid and self-conscious. But his own daughters were always sympathetically interpreted whether in the serious charm of childhood or in later years, as in the lovely example in Worcester where the two figures are most happily combined.

The "Blue Boy" is another instance in which the expression is unaffected. The first vivid impression has been preserved, the colour is rich and brilliant. The blues of the dress are supported by the warm glow of the background varied by touches of sunlight. Freedom and spontaneity connect this picture directly with the Flemish tradition. Van Dyck always did the thing with a fine swagger, in spite of his elegance, whereas the English painters so often show a certain inertia, as if they toyed rather nonchalantly with the whole matter. But in the "Blue Boy" we recognize that "spontaneous emotion in the presence of beauty" which Armstrong notes as characteristic of Gainsborough's best works. It would be too much to expect that a fashionable portrait painter could invariably sustain that level. Neither the patron of Gainsborough's day nor that of our own makes any great demand for esthetic qualities. It rests with the painter himself to sustain those ideals unaided and unrecognized.

The English genius was typically exemplified by Reynolds and Gainsborough, and it is hardly necessary to discuss other personalities at any length; for, in spite of individual traits of interest to the student, they are all moved by the same impulse, they employ similar compositional types, and in general there is correspondence in their technique.

George Romney (1734–1802) belonged to the same generation as Reynolds and Gainsborough. By determined effort he became a master of his craft, drawing and painting with admirable spirit. He shared with his famous contemporaries the favour of fashion-

able patronage. One of his delightful works is the "Children of Lord Gower." It is charmingly composed; an older girl stands in the background supporting a Greek water jar on her shoulder and the smaller children are dancing in a ring. The expression of movement is excellent and the motive serves to unite the group and also to bring the heads into agreeable relationship without suggesting an artificial arrangement. It is blithe and spontaneous and free from sentimentality.

Of the next generation the principal painters were Hoppner, Raeburn, and Lawrence. Hoppner (1758–1810) was a close follower of Reynolds without having much of a personal nature to add to his inheritance. He was an unsuccessful contestant with Lawrence for popular favour.

Raeburn (1756–1823), a Scotchman, used a clear-cut brush-work quite unlike that of his English contemporaries. The method was acquired, Armstrong believes, from the study of Velazquez' portrait of "Innocent X." in Rome. The freshness of his colour and the clean and firm manner in which he blocks out his forms afford a relief from the smooth modelling of much English work. In looking at a number of his canvases one is conscious that this method also may tend to become conventional. It is sometimes applied as a receipt rather than necessitated by an impulse received from the model before him.

Lawrence (1769–1830) was the last of the generation, and in spite of powers inferior to those of his predecessors he enjoyed an unbroken prosperity and was the recipient of many honours. His work is often sentimental and his technique facile. But at times he did strong pieces of character study, as in the "Reverend William Pennicott" of the Metropolitan Museum; and in the "Calmady Children," lately acquired by the same museum, the flesh is solidly modelled and the abandon of childhood is rendered with real charm.

It is particularly difficult in the case of the English school to remember the demands of painting as an art. Many people enjoy English portraits as they enjoy novels of high society. The desires of the imaginative life are satisfied by this means—"but from earliest times," as Meier-Graefe reminds us, "it has not been enough to have the right model." The whole problem of the creative arts is summed up by the same critic in a splendid paragraph in which he says: "The history of art shows us that the indispensable vehicle of the beautiful is the depth of emotion which draws the artist to his model, the extent of his love, or of his hate,

an emotion strong enough to tear him loose from earth and set him to seek the ideal with his soul."

Prominent among the painters of the eighteenth century working in London were several artists of American birth and until well into the nineteenth century American painting remained an offshoot of the British school. Early conditions in the colonies did little to foster the development of art. During a long period the only function of painting was documentary—the "limning" of influential citizens. Such portraits were at first supplied by painters of foreign birth—men like the Scotchman, Smibert (1688–1751), who brought to America an English style antedating the period of Reynolds and Gainsborough. Towards the close of the Colonial period the first native painters of merit began their active work. When West (1738–1820) and Copley (1737–1815) were young men conditions were still primitive and opportunities meagre. The early experiences of West read like romance, and he had already won recognition as a portrait painter before his twentieth year. The opportunity to visit Europe came to him unexpectedly and after several years spent in Rome he established himself permanently in London in 1763. Here he received numerous marks of distinction as an historical painter and finally upon the death of Sir Joshua Reynolds he succeeded to the presidency of the Royal Academy. We look with surprise today at work which commanded such rewards. It is sentimental, pretentious, unpleasant in colour, and wholly lacking in beauty of treatment. But in spite of the fact that West was a second-rate painter the position he occupied in general esteem and the school which he established in London were of real importance in the development of art in his own country. He became the master and counsellor of the majority of American painters who in the later years of the eighteenth century made their way to the old world.

Copley, a year older than West, was practically self-taught, and his best work has a refreshing and wholesome directness which atones for lack of charm in the handling of the paint. His most characteristic portraits were those painted in Boston in prerevolutionary days in which a vivid impression of personalities and social ideals is given. Copley left America just before the break with England and the remainder of his life was spent in London, where he died in 1815. Some examples preserved in England are surprisingly accomplished and brilliant and represent a phase of his work little known in his own country. Wholly representative of the period and the atmosphere of the day is the portrait of

"Mrs. Bourne" (Metropolitan Museum), so genuine and sound a piece in execution, so wholesome and unaffected an interpretation. In these qualities it contrasts with work produced by the English painters of fashionable models. A vivacity like that of the French gives distinction to the portrait of "Mrs. Fort" (Hartford). Every angle in her crisp costume is instinct with her sprightly animation. Her expressive hands pause momentarily in her tatting as she glances up, all attention and responsiveness.

Stuart (1755–1828), who was twenty years younger, had the advantage of improved conditions at home and better opportunities abroad. He completed his training as the assistant of West in London where he afterwards settled for several years. Stuart excelled his predecessors in the beauty of his technical method. He made use of transparent glazing to secure a luminous quality especially notable in the rendering of flesh. By this means he overcame the sharp edges of shadow masses which at times in Copley's paintings suggest a surface of wood. Especially charming are the varied types in his portraits of women ranging all the way from the exquisite "Anne Pennington" with her broad-spaced eyes and bobbing curls, sitting so straight and stately in her French chair, to the splendid severity of design in "Mrs. Yates," plying her needle with complete concentration.

Stuart's desire to paint the portrait of Washington occasioned his return to America after the Revolution, and the unfinished canvas in the Boston Museum known as the Athenaeum portrait was executed from life. It admirably expresses his personal admiration for the president.

Other American painters such as Trumbull (1756–1843) and Sully (1783–1872), receiving part of their training in West's school in London, continued the English tradition beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. In addition to numerous portraits of Revolutionary heroes Trumbull painted a number of historical works later purchased by the American government and placed in the Capitol at Washington.

Considering the unfavourable conditions under which American painting developed its achievement is notable. Even in the case of minor artists the unaffected interpretation of character and the honesty of workmanship command respect. The reported gibe of the French painter David, "Why are all the best British painters Americans?" was perhaps not without point.

CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLISH LANDSCAPE

Portraiture was the logical interest of the eighteenth century, the age of sophistication and social amenities. But two artists among the English portraitists, Wilson and Gainsborough, were painters of landscape as well.

Wilson (1714–1782) during his stay in Italy was encouraged to make landscape his principal study. On his return to England in 1755 he wished to devote himself to this art but he had little financial success and was saved from starvation only by a legacy received late in life. Much of his work is studied and artificial, answering to the taste of his day, but even these examples are redeemed by his spacious skies. His simpler studies, which are memoranda rather than pretentious works, are freshly seen and freshly painted against a wide distance, and the feeling for the painter's medium relates them to the later school of landscape painting. Although he received little recognition in the eighteenth century, he now takes his place as the earliest landscape painter of the English school.

Gainsborough (1727–1788) practised landscape as a separate art to some extent, but Armstrong says he seldom sold these canvases, and after his establishment as a fashionable portrait painter he had little opportunity to study nature. His early work shows the influence of the Dutch, a number of whose pictures were privately owned in England. "Cornard Wood" (1752) is a typical example of Gainsborough's landscapes. It is executed with great care and in its flat effect and broken surface has the appearance of a foliage tapestry. The "Watering Place," painted twenty-five years later, is handled with a swing and breadth which recall the art of Rubens. It is a spontaneous expression in English terms of the seventeenth century classic tradition. In this Gainsborough shows greater feeling for his medium than usual. The trees are painted in body colour and the picture is unified by the gleam of sunlight. Although the figures of men and animals are included, they are not allowed to disturb the pictorial unity. Meier-Graefe has said, "Gainsborough's landscapes have something that his portraits lack—physiognomies" (Pl. 70c).

Landscape motives, when he uses them as a setting for his portraits, are mere abstractions which have the slightest possible thread to connect them with reality. Touches of thin flowing pigment are applied as in water-colour, or loosely hatched over the surface. The effect of this transparent glazing is often quite luminous and poetic, but no effort is made to suggest different textures or to distinguish the contours of clouds, hills, or trees. Gainsborough's landscapes suggest a kind of pastoral poetry of the brush, something that the country makes the artist dream about.

But the following generation created a great school of landscape painting. Crome, Constable, and Turner stand in the foremost rank. These Englishmen, like their Dutch predecessors, embody in their art the familiar character of their own surroundings, the Midlands of England, overtowered by sturdy oaks and elms. Their work matured about 1800. Crome (1768–1821) often chooses the simplest of subjects, which he defines by big masses with little detail. Nature to him means the great mass of the earth—of which he is a part—and the open reaches of the distance; sky, earth, and air are his subjects. "The odours of the earth, all its aspects determined by the weather and the season, the shadows which the rain clouds carry across it, and the darkening caused by the wind blowing over the earth and by the approach of evening, all of that together enters human sentiment, with Crome" (Faure).

Early in life he was apprenticed to a coach painter and in this trade he acquired an excellent technical method. He admired the work of Wilson, but he was a student of nature and essentially original. He founded the Norwich school, which is later represented in the art of Cotman. Crome's richness of design and beauty of treatment are illustrated in the "Oak" in the Metropolitan Museum; his choice of simple subject material is admirable in the "Slate Quarries," which is splendidly organized, beautifully painted, and poetically conceived. Laurence Binyon ranks Crome above both Claude and Ruisdael (Pl. 73A and Pl. 74B).

English landscape found its truest interpreter in Constable (1776–1837), who was also one of the greatest artists of the nineteenth century. Constable had strong affection for his native soil and "his mind was of the type to which boundlessness and solitude prove insupportable unless they have a foreground of homeliness" (Henderson). This intimacy and love of home are the bone and sinew of his art. His letters reveal his character, in which were

combined modesty, self-distrust, tenacity, and devotion. These qualities characterized his art and his life.

Constable's subject was always an effect. This he made clear by his reply to the remark that one of his pictures ("Englefield House") ought to hang in the architectural show because it represented a house. "I told him," writes Constable, "that it was a picture of a summer morning *including* a house." With him, as with few English painters, "the motive was the *treatment*, not the given scene. . . . The unit of which the picture gives a multiple is not the tree, the leaf, or the stone, in a word, nothing natural, but colour, or more precisely, a brush stroke bearing colour, and representing not the tree, the leaf, the stone, but a generalization of these things" (Meier-Graefe). The generalization is still nature, however, as Constable's notes on particular objective features show. Hind quotes the notations on the reverse of his sketches where he records time of day, direction of the wind, general atmospheric conditions. This is an innovation.

His colours have darkened, but in his sketches we can still appreciate his "record of the pearly tones of out-of-door nature . . . the extended gamut of greys, mauves, and lilacs which remain upon the artist's palette to the present day" (B. Harrison). The brilliance of his canvases when they were first painted is attested by the fact that Turner, finding one of his pictures hung next to Constable's in the Academy exhibition, added to his foreground before the opening day a spot of vermilion, later worked into a life-buoy! The paintings by Constable hung in the Salon of 1824 led Delacroix to retouch his "Massacre of Scio" before the exhibition opened.

Constable's early pictures are laborious and seem less advanced pictorially than the Dutch, although his colour is from the first nearer to nature than that of his contemporaries. But the "Hay-Wain" (Pl. 73B) is a decided advance over work executed four years earlier. The sky is a perfect English sky with clouds building up and up and up; the cool light slips and slides over the fields. The realization of the effect of light in varying and modelling the contours of tree masses results in a modern handling. The tone is cool, but there is a singing colour passage at the right of the tree trunk where the light shines through the leaves, relieving them in a golden yellow filigree against the green-blue of the distant mountain. It is like a bit of Tiffany glass. This was one of the pictures exhibited in the Salon of 1824 which woke an echo in France.

Constable liked views of familiar places. Salisbury Cathedral he tried repeatedly, not always with complete success. Studies for the "View from the Bishop's Garden" of 1823 are spirited, but the picture is stilted and a little dull. Eight years later, he found a better point of approach and an excellent foreground motive in a wagon drawn by three teams of horses that formed one compositional movement with the bending tree trunk. The sketch is in the National Gallery and may be contrasted with the picture, on the adjoining wall. Constable's sketches always record a unique esthetic impression, but in his pictures he has constantly to struggle against his tendency to complicate the effect by including too much, as in this case, where unfortunately another effect, the rainbow, contests the pre-eminence of the main compositional line. The mind is confused among a multitude of interests. The serenity essential to our enjoyment has been destroyed. Does the artist himself know what the subject is? Could any eye register all these effects simultaneously? In the "Corn Field," the trees are grandly designed and the passage of distance is very beautiful. We are made to feel a beloved locality to which the painter and his forebears are attached. The love of native heath is strong (Pl. 74A).

In the case of Constable, the English collections are rich and include not only his finished canvases but a continuous series of sketches: exhilarating, fresh, unaffected, and beautiful things. Tiny jewel-like studies of light, "clouds, water, and air," they might be called. Now the sea and sky are violet-green and grey, or again pearly, or tumultuous skies are set off by a foreground of fawn grass or a rich laying in of the sombre trees of Dedham Vale. In every example, the sky has been given special attention; sometimes the study is restricted to the mass movements of clouds. This was a problem Constable was resolved to master. The sky "must, and always shall with me, make an effectual part of the composition," he said. "The sky is the source of light in nature and governs everything." Passing storm effects are studied in these sketches. Over Hampstead Heath, the sun breaks in a frightened way. The horizon is obliterated under the great sweep of rain. The nearer light is warm and beneficent and the distance at the right seems unconscious of the approaching storm—an effect familiar in nature. Surrounded with purple shadows, a fleck of sunlight (almost white) touches the windmill and the valley—lightly and with a sparkle. It would seem possible, even now, to find the spot on the hillside from which Constable

worked and to see just what adjustments he made to shape nature for his artistic purpose. And overhead we find the very skies he studied so untiringly. Their cloud patterns change, it would seem, more rapidly than elsewhere in the world: piling up, menacing, disintegrating, chased away by the wind, but ever reassembling in a new formation. Constable is the worshipper of Nature's truth, avid to comprehend her structure, her consistency, her unity. But Constable is not set apart from his contemporaries by any technical superiority, or even by a new gamut of colour; he is a greater artist because his nature is more deeply stirred by what he sees. He cared more for the common phenomena of every day than for special exhibitions of power; he seldom tried the spectacular because his aim was to know nature in her habitual guise, never twice alike, but with differences revealed only to one who had watched and had recorded truth in the spirit of a devotee.

Turner (1775–1851) was one year older than Constable and outlived him by twenty-four years. The two men present the strongest contrast. Constable stayed at home and his art became a kind of embodiment of the Midlands of England, ingenuous, discrete, insular. Turner travelled and recorded with his untiring energy all the marvellous spectacles of nature. He sought for the extraordinary and the stupendous as Constable contented himself with the everyday and the domestic. He produced with his own hand more works than any other painter " and led a more strenuous and universal art life than any other English painter," Armstrong tells us. His earliest work was topographical, as in the case of a number of other English artists. In his final years his experiments were sometimes carried to an extreme, but between 1820 and 1845 was produced the widest range of works in oil and water-colour, all showing his almost omnivorous delight in observation. Although clearly marked tendencies make it possible to divide his work into periods, the inequality of the productions of any one is so great as to be confusing. He produced some of his worst and some of his best canvases almost simultaneously.

When he failed, it was generally because "his idea was not to reduce a scene to esthetic unity but to inflate it into objective sublimity," as Armstrong put it. For this reason, the comparison with Claude which Turner himself invited does not always result as he anticipated, for, whatever criticisms may be brought against Claude, he never failed to create pictorial unity. Turner was a more adventurous painter, he risked more, and when he lost, he

lost more heavily. His interest in the phenomena of nature and his remarkable skill in recording what he saw and retained in his memory sometimes overshadowed his function as an interpreter.

Turner is encyclopaedic. He retails everything that he sees or that takes place. He puts in every boat on the horizon, whether it has anything to contribute to the *picture* or not, as in "Calais Pier." Meier-Graefe says his method was "to bring together as many things as a frame would hold, then to shake them up vigorously, and leave the rest to Ruskin!" Two faults appear often as a result: first, a lack of subordination to one pictorial interest; and second, the failure to arrange what he represented in a clear succession of planes, thereby clarifying what is presented to the eye. In his ocean scenes, for instance, the turbulence of the surface waves fails to disclose the ordered rhythms of the tides which control them, however tumultuous they may appear. In "Crossing the Brook" (Pl. 74c), it is lack of general atmospheric tone which makes the beautiful silhouette of the foreground trees appear unreal and unrelated to the cool distance and sky.

Where very ambitious effects were attempted the necessity for simplification was even greater. In the "Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus," the fairy-like distance hangs between sky and water, a play of gold and blue. But the group at the left touched in strong orange and burnt sienna is unrelated; it is not bathed by the same atmosphere as other objects in the picture plane. Meier-Graefe says in discussing a picture by Turner, "It is impossible for —— to look as it does, if ——, beside it, looks as *it* does."

In "Rain, Steam, and Speed," of his late period, a chaotic play of shimmering tones moves in a kind of spiral whirl and a black engine and a mahogany bridge emerge miraculously. The eye is not assured of continuity of planes. If the train were going in the opposite direction, one feels that it would be headed for destruction in the vacuum of the middle distance.

When Turner escaped these faults, he created masterpieces of beauty, as in such little pictures as the "Old Chain Pier, Brighton" which has a rare unity of tone and mood, or the "Evening Star," with an almost Whistlerian effect. Numerous other examples painted about 1830 might be mentioned. In the "Sun Rising through Vapours" (1807), the veils of morning mist are fascinating in their beauty of colour. It is a harmony of greys and blues and golds, very subdued but tenderly rendered. This was painted fourteen years before Constable exhibited the "Hay-Wain." As

early as this, Turner used nature's complementary scheme of gold and blue.

In 1829 Turner painted "Ulysses Deriding Polyphemus" (Pl. 73c), "which may fairly be considered the finest combination of art and nature he ever achieved" (Armstrong). Here it must be remembered that he is telling a fairy-tale. His method can afford to be fantastic, for he is keeping pace with his material. "The dawn comes up like thunder": the sun, the palest gold, bursts on the world, sending out great fan-shaped rays to the zenith. They pulsate and vibrate and shimmer in a wonderful way. At the horizon the sun crashes against intense blue, which runs through and binds together the whole left side of the picture. The great body of Polyphemus above the ship is only half discerned against the sky. The ship is wholly bizarre and fantastic. At its prow the forms of the waves disclose mermaids and dolphins seen only at close range. The picture is enthralling. Is there any painting before it with which it can be compared as a study of the effect of light? It may be theatrical, "scenario-painting," but it is dazzling and splendid.

In forcing hues of blue to become his darkness in place of the colours used by his contemporaries, Turner inaugurated a new key of colour. He realized that nature's range was immeasurably beyond the possibilities of pigments. He, therefore, attempted to keep the complex and varied tones of nature but, in every case, to reduce the interval of contrast.

"White paint he took as his approach to light itself and then drew upon the entire range of lighter hues to suggest the opalescent and changing face of nature." And he was ready to sacrifice *richness* of effect to this nearer approach to nature's magic of light. "The intensity and diffusion of daylight in open air" which Ruskin finds in Turner's work is best illustrated in the water-colours with their marvellous handling and their cool and shimmering tones. The blues of mountains and deep valleys for the first time appear in no harsh colour relation to the foreground. "There is not a stone, not a leaf, not a cloud, over which the light is not felt to be actually passing and palpitating before our eyes."

His memory must have been developed to an extraordinary extent, since even with his "unequalled technical mastery over the water-colour medium," it would have been out of the question to record before the light had completely altered them those "mighty passages of splendour which are tossed from Alp to Alp

over the azure of a thousand miles of Champagn" that Ruskin describes.

Turner, Armstrong says, has given an unrivalled series of descriptions of nature and in his colour he is often the magician. His taste for the bizarre and the unusual gives a Byronesque touch to his work in contrast to the art of Constable and Crome, which is more nearly paralleled by Wordsworth and Burns.

His daring adventures in colour give him a unique place in the English school and were not without important results in the development of later schools of European landscape painting.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

FRENCH PAINTING BEFORE DAVID

General conditions in France during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been touched upon in discussing Flemish art. The beautiful craft of illumination, "coloured windows in written books," satisfied the eye for a long period before "concrete pictures were painted." Painters, as distinguished from miniaturists, were active in France perhaps as early as the thirteenth century, but the few whose work is known are far outnumbered by those who are still awaiting discovery. Throughout the fourteenth century there is great uncertainty as to the identity and nationality of the painters. There was constant passing back and forth between courts and religious houses in contiguous countries, and influences were always to some extent reciprocal. The residence of the papacy at Avignon insured patronage for local as well as Italian painters and a school arose there in consequence. The influence of Simone Martini on French painting has previously been described. As an Italian "he brought a . . . classic point of view . . . his Greco-Roman sanity contrasting with, and chastening, the northern imagination." The importance of Paris as an art centre declined after the death of the king, Charles V. (1380), and the artists he had assembled were scattered, many finding employment in the Netherlands or at the court of the Duke of Burgundy at Dijon. It was not until the fifteenth century that a great painter appeared in whom the French character is unmistakable. This was Jean Fouquet (1415–1485).

Fouquet was born in Tours and visited Italy shortly before the middle of the century, when he painted a portrait of Eugenius IV. On his return he worked at Tours and at Paris for the court of Charles VII. and Louis XI.

As an illuminator he possessed an exquisite mastery of his craft and a supreme gift for colour. The illuminations from the "Book of Hours" executed (with assistants) for Étienne Chevalier are set like precious gems around the walls of the small treasure room in Chantilly. French colour is typically represented in these works so nearly resembling the enameller's art. Across the room

some of them look like Persian manuscripts. Blue is predominant, but beautiful greens abound, very clear and brilliant—ranging from billiard table green through every possible variation. The blue sky suggests della Robbia. Horizons fade to porcelain-like delicacy of pale colour. The blue of the robes is *intense* with golden lights. The remaining colours are white, vermilion, yellow, orange, and mulberry shading almost to magenta. This extreme brilliance makes most effective by contrast the night scenes where the figures are kept nearly of one sombre tone and the sky is a *night* sky. In the "Adoration," the portrait of the French king, Charles VII., appears as one of the Magi. In the background is seen the Château of Chinon, in which he received Joan of Arc.

Both in these illuminations and in Fouquet's paintings elaborate Renaissance ornament occurs, the forms being especially noticeable because they are used in conjunction with figures still Gothic in line and movement (see the "King's Counsellor Guillaume Jouvenel" [Pl. 75A]).

Among Fouquet's most famous paintings is the diptych (1453), one panel of which is in Antwerp and one in Berlin. In the former the Virgin is altogether unlovely, but is of great interest as a portrait of Agnes Sorel, the mistress of Charles VII. On the Berlin panel is represented Étienne Chevalier, the treasurer of France, high in the favour of Agnes Sorel.

Fouquet's style is distinctively French and its breadth is contrasted by Fry with Flemish particularization; the French spirit, however, still appeared sporadically in individuals rather than in a group which can be said to have constituted a national school. Some of the finest works produced even at the end of the fifteenth century are claimed both as French and as Flemish. That which constitutes the national style is difficult to isolate.

Not until the time of Francis I. did the culture of the Renaissance result in an art differing essentially from what had preceded it. Hitherto painting had not been practised on an extensive scale, but the new popularity which it acquired at this time necessitated a great body of expert painters. Hourticq shows that the increased demand could not be supplied in France. Therefore it was from foreign countries that artists were summoned, especially from Italy and Flanders. It has been said that Francis I., "unable in the days of his youth to make Italy French, when age came upon him, tried to make France Italian." Indeed, as far as art was concerned, this had been a determined policy throughout his reign. Leonardo was persuaded to migrate to France, where he

died, however, within a few months. Benvenuto Cellini worked for the king, and numerous other Italians came and went.

It was not until 1531, however, that Francis assembled a permanent group of Italian decorators to carry out the elaborate plans for the adornment of the Palace of Fontainebleau. A large number of painters was kept busy here under the supervision of the Italians, Il Rosso, a pupil of Michelangelo, and Primaticcio, a Bolognese painter trained in the school of Guilio Romano. Not only were their technical methods and the large scale of the decorations important models for French painters, but the humanistic point of view and the extended range of subjects which they introduced opened new horizons.

At the same time, orders for portraits of the king and the courtiers gave occupation to painters of a different type. The vogue for portraits became almost an obsession in the court of Francis I. and his successors, where the custom prevailed of assembling drawings of famous people in albums, a number of which still exist. For this purpose drawings in black and red crayon were required and the studies made by the principal painters were often copied by inferior hands. Aside from their esthetic value these drawings record the changes of fashion from year to year and bring before us all the celebrities of the court.

Outstanding painters were the Flemings, Jean Clouet (1475–1540), and his son, François (1505–1572), many of whose drawings and paintings are preserved at Chantilly. Attributions to the older Clouet are difficult to prove, but the painting at Hampton Court of an unknown man holding a volume of Petrarch is probably authentic.

François was "the man chosen by the Muse to write the history of his age." Signed paintings establish his authorship of a number of portraits, none finer than those of "Pierre Quthe" (Louvre) and "Cardinal de Chatillon" (Chantilly). The preliminary drawing of the cardinal's head in the British Museum is marvelously alive and breathing. Both Holbein and the Italian masters are recalled in the beauty and distinction of these works. Indeed the technique and composition of the drawings suggest the direct inspiration of Holbein, who was probably known to these French painters. If on the whole their drawings are less sensitive, mobile, and beautiful than the work of Holbein, there are certain exceptional cases in which "we feel that Holbein is surpassed by the sheerness of the French and Flemish portraiture of the High Renaissance" (Rankin) (Pl. 75B).

About the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572), both schools declined. Civil wars, both religious and secular, brought disasters in their train, and although the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes (1598) may be chosen as the logical point at which to begin the study of the new period, the results in French painting are evident only shortly before the middle of the seventeenth century.

During the first half of the century the nation was preparing once more for leadership in the arts, a leadership not like that of the medieval period, when the voice of the people was heard in a common speech. Now strength was accumulating through a policy of centralization for the leadership of a small group in Paris —the French monarchy.

In the last decades of the sixteenth and the first of the seventeenth century, a number of painters were born upon whom it devolved in large part to crystallize the ideals of French art at the moment when everything was in readiness for organization. Government ownership of art was established in the Industries of the Crown in the Gobelin factories (1662). Slightly earlier than this date, with a view to mutual benefit and the preservation of certain standards the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture had been formed (1648). This remained in operation until the Revolution. More varied subjects were demanded at this period, but mural paintings and portraits still held first place.

As conditions became more settled, a revival in the building of city houses and palaces took place. The plan provided for a gallery especially designed for mural decoration like that of the Luxembourg, completed for Marie de' Medici in 1620. France was still in the habit of depending upon foreign artists, and Rubens received the commission for the decoration of this gallery. The allegorical method which he employed was admirably suited to the requirements of his French patrons and remained in favour throughout the century. These paintings exercised important influence on successive generations of French artists.

At the same time Italy offered as great an attraction as ever. Of the French painters who made their sojourn there some returned and became the creatures of the French court; others for whom the lack of freedom in Paris was intolerable spent their lives in and about Rome. The most important French painters of the seventeenth century, Poussin (1594–1665) and Claude Lorrain (1600–1682), were among this number.

For the learned Poussin, the classic tradition was a supreme

inspiration. His mind, which was essentially French, took endless satisfaction in the problem of composition. He inherited the national gift of logic and style. He writes: "There must first be arrangement, then ornament, grace, animation, truth, and judgment everywhere. The last two qualities belong to the painter and cannot be taught. They are like Virgil's golden bough, which no man can find or gather unless guided by Fate."

Even before his journey to Italy, he had studied Raphael through the engravings of Raimondi. In Rome he copied the beautiful "Aldobrandini Marriage," a fresco which had come to light only four years earlier. He made these classic forms so entirely his own and thought and felt so genuinely in this idiom that although at first one is inclined to point to one or another figure as directly transposed from an older source comparison generally shows that there is no resemblance line by line but only the closest correspondence of ideal.

He was a student as well as an artist and in almost every work the delight he felt in overcoming the difficulties that confronted him is evident. It was his aim to present thought clearly and unemotionally without rhetoric. His figures are proportioned according to an academic standard yet they never fail to express life. The thoroughness of his methods is proved by his use of wax models in the round from which to study three-dimensional effects. Perhaps it is because of this practice that his figures sometimes appear to have been trained carefully to take their parts and to have posed in rotation. Each is engraved upon the painter's mind in the isolation of its pure and statuesque pose. He says, "No effort must be seen, no seeking for effect," but it is difficult to conceal the method in an art so studiously cultivated. Nowhere is his feeling for design better illustrated than in the simple massing of the folds of drapery, which seem inspired by Greek models.

Colour meant very little to Poussin and apparently his eye was not disturbed by inharmonious notes which occur in many canvases. Atmospheric feeling is often lacking and the colours appear metallic. Sometimes the general tone suggests that the subject has been seen through smoked glasses, but this tone is not uniform; a penetrating red, out of key with the neighbouring colours, frequently is introduced. It is as if this one spot were seen through a break in the dark glasses.

Several methods of composition are employed: one in which the figure group is brought as far as possible into one plane in the

foreground and is set against a landscape distance; another in which architecture makes a formal division of the space and by steps, porticos, etc., affords different levels for the placing of the groups; and a third type, in which landscape predominates and the figures assume an entirely subordinate place.

The first method is typically represented in the "Shepherds in Arcadia," executed for Colbert (Pl. 76A). Poussin has reconstructed an antique vision, but he escapes making it either pedantic or theatrical. In it he gives the essence of Greek idealism as it appeals to his imagination. In this case the background is wholly subordinated and allowed to fade away at the sides where it is not needed as a setting for the main group. No illusion of distance is attempted.

The second type is treated with many variations. In "David with the Head of Goliath" (Pl. 81B) the spaces are measured off by the immense columns and the distant spectators standing in the temple portico are raised free from intervening forms. The columns are like the accented beat of a musical measure regulating the martial theme sounded by the trumpeters who precede the young victor. The procession moves forward between the stationary groups of spectators in foreground and distance.

Landscape becomes the principal consideration in several late pictures in the Louvre, as "Summer," "Polyphemus," and the "Deluge," which was one of the four landscapes most admired by Constable. In the "Blind Orion" (Pl. 91C) the background is mysterious, sombre, and grand. It suggests the hush of early morning, which is not calm but expectant, as if awaiting liberation when, with the rising sun the wind stirs and the birds sing. In other examples, winding rivers with rich vegetation and small figures reflected in the water, are a lovely feature of the middle distance.

The structure of Poussin's design and the intellectual quality of his work require study. Renoir says, "It took me thirty years to understand Poussin." Like a prism he gathers from earlier sources all that can nourish his genius and transmits it to the following generations. At the end of the nineteenth century we are told, "If you would understand Puvis, you must worship Poussin."

Although the names of Poussin and Claude (1600–1682) are coupled, their love for Italy and their residence there were all they had in common, for Claude was an ignorant man to whom humanistic studies and Classicism were indifferent matters. He felt so little interest in the human figure that he never acquired sufficient

facility to execute with his own hands even the miniature groups introduced in his landscapes. He was a close student of out-of-door effects even though his composition was conventional.

Fromentin might be describing Claude's ideal when he says, "Certain laws of proportion and certain attributes, such as grace, force, nobility, and beauty, intelligently studied in man and reduced into a body of doctrines, could be applied equally to what was not man. Thence resulted a sort of . . . humanized universe." If this had been all, Claude's pictures could not hold the interest of succeeding generations; but he had high creative gifts and as Roger Fry has said, "It is the unity, not the content, that affects us in his work." This was the result of his management of light, space, and scale. Ruskin says, "Claude was the first who put the sun in the sky or who attempted anything like the realization of actual sunshine in misty air"; and again, he "made the sun his subject and painted the effect of misty shadows cast by his rays over the landscape, and other delicate aerial transitions as no one had ever done before." [1] Constable writes, "Brightness was the characteristic excellence of Claude; brightness independent of colour."

Of equal importance in achieving unity was his mastery of space composition. However varied and complicated his picture may be, his distance has the attraction of a magnet and the eye is unsatisfied until it gives up its wanderings and forgets the parts in the whole. In a passage comparing Turner and Claude, Meier-Graefe by implication ascribes to Claude the qualities which he denies to Turner in saying, "The perspective does not serve as a sounding board for the motive introduced in the foreground, to throw back the tones, enchanced by echo . . ." Reversed, this describes Claude's method.

Turning quickly from a picture by Poussin to one by Claude, it is as if coloured glasses suddenly had been removed, and an adjustment to light and distance is necessary. The world appears as if seen through a stereopticon. That is hardly a true figure, however, since foreground objects do not stand out, so that you feel the air encircling them; they are subordinated, as is everything else, to the succession of planes receding gradually until all but the silhouette is lost in the distant lighted sky. The realiza-

[1] "Ruskin was not quite right in saying that no one was prior to Claude in his field," Mr. Rankin writes. "The medallion landscape of a sentient twilight, in Fra Bartolommeo's 'Resurrection' . . . is Claude and a little more than Claude—is Claude complete."

tion of space is Claude's true theme and it is never confused with other interests, no matter how many things are taking place in the foreground.

The ability to convey this sense of distance was partly the result of his feeling for scale, by means of which he raised ordinary objects to heroic proportions and transcended the particular aspect which was his original inspiration. Under this heading may also be considered his pattern of dark and light masses in which we recognize area divisions echoed in the compositions of Corot. These points are typically illustrated in examples chosen almost at random: the "Landing of Cleopatra at Tarsus" (Louvre), and the "Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba" (London), for light and space; "David at the Cave of Adullam" (National Gallery and Metropolitan Museum), for the suction of distance; "Enchanted Castle" (Wantage Collection), and the "Flight into Egypt" (Pl. 76B), for the beautiful structure of the pattern of dark and light masses against a liquid horizon.

"In Claude's landscape all is lovely, all amiable, all is amenity and repose; the calm sunshine of the heart. He carried landscape indeed to perfection, that is, *human* perfection" (Constable).

This conscious elegance is too artificial wholly to please a modern eye. In the task of composition, the thrill of intimate vision was lost. Nature appears sophisticated and disciplined, the unexpected, the capricious, the weather-beaten have no place in his art, which is thus a true expression of his age. How great a modification of nature he felt to be necessary when he turned to the task of pictorial *composition* is illustrated by comparing the finished work with his sketches. It is precisely in their unpremeditated quality, the exactness with which the painter has caught a momentary effect, that these ink studies are so astonishing. Mr. Rankin speaks of "the power of Claude's drawings in exceptional instances, to dramatize, as it were, special landscape features—as a clammy evening along the deserted Tiber's banks on the Campagna; it reeks with local character." "These drawings," it has been said, "anticipate a style of technical work and a form of artistic vision which the other landscape painters of Europe did not reach until two hundred and fifty years after his death." The self-exiled painters Poussin and Claude were the greatest French artists of the seventeenth century.

In the meantime painters were busy in Paris. Among the decorators, all of whom derived inspiration from Italy or Flanders or both countries, was Vouet (1590–1649), who was court painter

under Louis XIII. and the master of Le Sueur (1616–1655), active in the first half of the century, and of Le Brun (1619–1690), who became director of art under Louis XIV. and controlled decoration and painting. He had a genius for organization, but his endless canvases of historic and classic themes are laborious and gloomy in spite of dramatic action and bright colouring. His work is typical of the ideals of the period of Louis XIV. and in the best examples, as the decoration of the Galerie d'Apollon, it well illustrates the French feeling for style, which makes agreeable and impressive, work that is in itself uninspired.

Official portraiture was practised by Mignard (1610–1695) and later by Largillière (1656–1746) and Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743). Largillière was trained in Antwerp and was later in England as assistant to Sir Peter Lely. The unctuous richness of his surfaces varied by the play of warm and cool tones perpetuate the Flemish tradition and contrast with much work of the period in which sympathy for the painter's medium is lacking. Rigaud painted Louis XIV. as he chose to be remembered. No one would suspect from this portrait that the condition of the national treasury had necessitated the melting of the royal plate.

One of the artist's best official portraits is that of "Bossuet" (Pl. 75c). Strength and intelligence are shown and the interpretation of character dominates the rhetorical conception. Even the unstructural lines of the composition become less apparent from the strong interest of the personality. The colour scheme combines grey-blue, soft coral-pink, and cream—a delicate range of colours which became popular in the later eighteenth century. Rigaud was capable of greater truth and intimacy, however, as is proved by the painting of his mother from two points of view, executed as a guide to the sculptor Coysevox in making a bust of the lady (Dilke). The drawing is excellent, the touch firm and sympathetic.

The long reign of Louis XIV. had come to an end in 1715, but even before that time reaction against the cold and pompous style of his time had appeared. In architectural decoration formality began to give way, humour lurked in ornamental motives, the Orient furnished models of unsymmetrical design, and in painting themes of dainty frivolity flowed from the brush of Watteau (1684–1721). Watteau, born in Valenciennes, came to Paris at the opening of the century. Esthetically as well as technically, he was a descendant of Rubens, whose work he studied in the Luxembourg. His art was a complete revulsion from the pedantic classicism and

(*A*) Fouquet. Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursius. Louvre, Paris. (Bruckmann)

(*B*) François Clouet. Portrait drawing of Mary Queen of Scots. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*C*) Rigaud. Portrait of Bossuet. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*D*) Chardin. The Governess. Liechtenstein Collection, Vienna. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*A*) Poussin. Shepherds in Arcadia. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*B*) Claude. Flight into Egypt. Dresden. (Bruckmann)

(*C*) Watteau. Embarkation to Cythera. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

from the heavy forms and colouring of preceding French painters. He expressed rather by innuendo than by incident the "dolce far niente" of days without a purpose and life without a goal. He peopled a picture world with exquisite marionettes who show a "dalliance too light for love, too elegant for flirtation" (Mather). This butterfly existence he makes completely captivating, working with restless haste in his race with death. Faure considers that intentionally he placed his fragile figures beneath the trees to suggest the transitoriness of human life and the permanence of nature.

Watteau's technique was as perfectly suited to his fêtes galantes as was that of Angelico to the vision of Paradise or that of Correggio to the miracle of light. His "Embarkation to Cythera" (Pl. 76c) is softened by a haze of unreality, the snow-capped hills bathed in a golden glamour. The principal figure is touched in golden strawberry against the pale green distance. Up hill and down declivity troop the figures, with them mingling little cupids, like so many rose-leaves. This invitation to embark for the island of Aphrodite's birth was joyously accepted by Watteau's followers, but they never were entirely at home in the enchanted island, or perhaps it would be truer to say that they were too much at home. Watteau's best followers were Lancret (1690–1743), who enjoyed a lifelong popularity, and Pater (1695–1736). Their art was lacking in spontaneity and their imitation often results in a static quality. They had neither the delicate grace nor the remoteness of Watteau. Visions that he could transport to a magic world they brought to earth by their more material art. They recount with equal zest the love and indiscretion of goddess or of mistress.

In the field of decorative painting Le Moine (1688–1737) and de Troy (1680–1752) were succeeded by Boucher (1703–1770) and Fragonard (1732–1800). It is impossible to estimate their work apart from the decorative arts of which it formed so admirable a part. The colour which in the seventeenth century was strong and heavy has undergone a complete transformation in keeping with the intimate boudoirs of the time, with walls tinted in palest shades and gilded carvings in which flowing rhythms abound. The delicate, often "fatigued," palette of the painter fits perfectly into these surroundings. At his best, as in the "Birth of Venus" (Stockholm), Boucher gave felicitous expression to the light-hearted artificiality of his age. His "style" in the execution of accessories and decorative ornament, his success in leading the eye from crest to crest of his swinging rhythms, and his pleasing colour perfectly meet the requirements of this type of design. Fragonard belonged

to a later generation and lived to see the lightly constructed house of cards tumble about his ears. On the eve of the Revolution in a series of paintings intended for Madame du Barry's apartments he recorded with engaging grace the eighteenth century refusal of reality. These beautiful panels now form a part of the Frick Collection.

Among the portrait painters are Nattier (1685–1766), and La Tour (1704–1788). The last named succeeded best in giving to his models a "spirituelle" quality by means of the sprightly animation of his style. This is well seen in the numerous pastels preserved at Saint Quentin. He worked principally in this medium. Many of his portraits include the head only. He was intent upon unmasking the character beneath paint and powder. It emerges now and then with startling vividness from beneath the blanket wigs. Such vivacious portraits suggest the repartee of the salons and explain the great popularity of La Tour's work.

Much that was commonplace may be overlooked when painting is brought into line as a pleasant art of ornamentation. The artificiality of the model furnishes the painter with an excuse for a purely decorative treatment. In such a portrait as "Baroness Rigolay d'Ogny" by Nattier, the eye follows a diagonal pattern like those in contemporary textile design. Structural forms are subordinated to the movement of flowing rhythm and there is no intellectual content to disturb the eye in its purely sensuous pleasure. Yet even Nattier could at times show power in portraiture, as in an example cited by Mr. Rankin, "an animal of a woman whom the painter analyses and limns almost up to his limit."

As long as the painters contented themselves with artifice, French style gave charm to their work, but a desire to moralize led Greuze (1725–1805) to create sentimental melodramas of peasant life. The subjects are comparable to those of Hogarth, but the wholesome middle class vulgarity of the English master is replaced by mawkish sentiment, and his admirable technique by the less sprightly touch of Greuze. Greuze delighted an age bent upon self-deception. At his best he invented such pretty types as that of the "Girl with the Broken Pitcher."

Simple scenes from the daily life of the middle class had not been entirely lacking in the art of France, and pictures of merit were painted in the seventeenth century by the Le Nain brothers, but it was not until the advent of Chardin (1699–1779), that France produced a really great genre painter. Chardin showed incidents of everyday life in the prosperous houses of the middle

class. To know that a world of ordinary folk existed side by side with that of the court is reassuring. Chardin's people are wholesome and candid. He perceives in their smallest act some grace or charm and every canvas shows "his instinct for the quality of their environment, for the something which gives personality even to the ambient air." Hourticq says that in Chardin's family "nothing ever happened and a painter was therefore its fitting annalist." The "Morning Toilet" (Stockholm), the "Blessing" (Louvre), and the "Governess" (Pl. 75D) are typical examples. The charming ingenuousness of the master is united with a technique "in which his every touch is intelligent." His fine painting is also shown in still life in which colour and texture are a delight to the eye. A beautiful example may be seen in the Phillips Collection in Washington.

As the character of Fénelon stands out with almost incredible simplicity and purity in the court of the aged Louis XIV., so the art of Chardin contrasts with that of contemporary painters in the middle of the eighteenth century. He is the "little Dutchman of the Parisian school." Chardin's skill was highly prized by his contemporaries, and he had the good fortune to die before the evil days which ended the monarchy and brought many a painter of gay frivolities to an impoverished old age.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

CLASSICISM AND ROMANTICISM

If we compare the art of Boucher with that of his pupil David, the transformation of style is startling, but even while Boucher and Nattier were still in favour, there had been indications of a coming change. The discovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum turned men's minds back to antiquity, which appeared in a more human guise than ever before as they contemplated the evidence of the daily life of the Romans. The influence of Mme. de Pompadour was exerted in favour of the new classical style, which before 1774 had crystallized into what is known as the style of Louis XVI. David (1748–1825), who in painting was to be the greatest representative of the new era, quickly parted from Boucher to attach himself to a more congenial teacher, the classical painter Vien.

In 1775, having won the Prix de Rome, he continued his studies in Italy. Here everything confirmed his classical tendencies. Theory and practice alike at this time were based on the study of late works like the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön, the marbles of Ægina, Olympia, and Athens being scarcely known. The work of Canova and of David was the outcome of this ideal. Their enthusiasm was genuine but their art was imitative. David's figures were correctly drawn and articulated but galvanized and fixed forever in one position. Important as he was in enunciating a thesis, excellently as he rendered form, he was not interested in the problems of a painter. He placed slight value on two great elements of pictorial effect, namely, chiaroscuro and colour. He employed light and shade for the purpose of rounding out his sculptural form, but only at the end of his life did he show any realization of chiaroscuro as a factor in composition. His colour is that of a chromo. "The form is really not painted but draughted, with colour added as an ornament" (Barnes). He had no interest in atmosphere and Hourticq's comment, "His figures are in light but not in air" is most apt. In the "Rape of the Sabine Women" the metallic figures are contrasted with a distance which has no actual existence

From 1780 one canvas succeeded another in which David's uncompromising program was laid down. His subjects were drawn from classic sources, and the ideals of valour illustrated in the "Oath of the Horatii" or the "Brutus" received general acclaim. When he returned to Paris in 1789 it was to become painter to Louis XVI. and dictator of the public policy (Pl. 77A).

Fortunately David was not permitted, even in his historical canvases, to confine himself exclusively to ancient times. He directed his political course with discretion and after the Revolution he became the leading artist of the Empire. Napoleon was determined that the glories of his reign should be perpetuated in heroic fashion. In the "Oath of the Tennis Court," the "Distribution of the Eagles," and the "Crowning of the Empress Josephine," David recorded great moments of contemporary history. In the last he is more nearly the painter than elsewhere. Not only is the group well organized but prominence is given to the principal actors by the massing of lights and shadows. The notes of strong colour afforded by the crimson hangings result in a richness not usual in his work. Claude Phillips says of this picture, "As a portrait group on a large scale, in which the dramatic interpretation is subordinated to, but not obliterated by, the faithful presentment of the individual, it knows no equal, save the frescos of Domenico Ghirlandajo in the choir of Santa Maria Novella."

David was at his best as a portrait painter. Character and charm speak from these canvases with a freshness for which we are unprepared. Composition, form, and values here acquire if not always a pictorial aspect, at least esthetic interest. Not only is "Mme. Récamier" a figure charmingly drawn and posed as for a cameo, but lighting and space relations have been matters of conscientious and delighted attention.

"Mlle. Charlotte du Val d'Ognes" would win the heart of any age. She is about to draw—us; she estimates us as material for the arts! She might stand for the Muse of Painting, yet we should have to modify this title and call her the Muse of Form. She is placed before the window in order that her body may be the better defined by direct light on one side and reflected light on the other. Admirably as she is painted, it is her firm young body, warm and solid, that we are made to feel through her Empire dress. All the artificiality of the preceding age is gone—paint, powder, and an assumed identity (Pl. 78A).

David's mastery of values is shown in the painting of the face.

It is in shadow, but the features are clearly defined by reflected light cast up from her white gown. His success in preserving the shadow plane is seen by half closing the eyes. Nor was it by chance that he represented her sitting before a window with a broken pane of glass. Notice with what nicety he has registered the value of the sky seen through the opening and the same sky seen through the window pane. He seems to have been intent upon showing how much pleasure the eye may find in integrity of statement apart from any appeal of colour or surface quality, for in both the latter elements this canvas is deficient.

The third portrait selected has a different interest. In "Mme. Morel de Tangry and her Daughters," the biography of a French family is recorded. No written words could give more clearly the annals of this household in which the indomitable mother has controlled the fortunes of her daughters and will continue to do so to her dying day. How entertaining to trace the family lineaments as they have been inherited and transformed in each of the children. Numerous examples might be cited to illustrate David's ability as a portrait painter (Pl. 82A).

David's indifference to pictorial effects and his insistence upon the definition of form for its own sake may be appreciated by comparing his work with that of his contemporary Prud'hon (1758–1823). Prud'hon was essentially a painter. His effects are dependent upon illumination, and the picture stands out in a pattern made by the chiaroscuro. His art depends not on isolated facts but on unified effects. Diagonal line rhythms sustain his figure of Psyche, but from shadowed surroundings the loveliness of the young figure and the playful genii emerge into light with a delicacy inspired by Correggio. Unfortunately the colour has almost completely faded. Prud'hon used other and more vigorous rhythms as well, and in "Crime Pursued by Justice and Vengeance," he makes capital of the diagonal scheme to accelerate the terrified flight of the murderer. The avenging Fates form a splendid unit. The painter has preserved ideal beauty in the expression of powerful drama. The moon rides high in the heavens; the beauty of night is brought into sharp contrast with human tragedy; the light irradiates the nude body of the victim and marks with staccato accents the silhouette of the murderer.

During the last years of the eighteenth century, while David laboured with the enthusiasm of the scholar to revive a dead civilization, the civilization of his own day fell to pieces. In the political world the right of kings to rule arbitrarily was first challenged

by the united colonies of the new continent, then by the populace of France, and from that time it was taken up by one country after another. Economic changes were no less far reaching. The ancient guilds had been reorganized by Louis XVI., but by the end of the century the apprentice system under which the great craftsmen had been produced was no longer in operation. The generation of trained workers disappeared early in the nineteenth century and craftsmanship died out, its place gradually being taken by the work of the machine. The unity of decorative and fine arts, which hitherto had contributed to their mutual advantage, was lost irretrievably, and the painter himself less frequently was called upon to produce decorations in the strict sense of the term. Such collaboration as we have seen in Italy, or under the system employed by Rubens, was no longer feasible.

During the Renaissance painters and sculptors had become personages of consequence and the formation of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture expressed their desire for separation from those, who, at an earlier period, would have been welcomed as their fellow craftsmen. The Royal Academy of France, established in 1648, which, like other organizations, was dissolved at the close of the eighteenth century, was afterwards re-established on much more exclusive lines and became a close corporation exercising its veto to prevent the public exhibition of works failing to meet certain well defined requirements. The annual exhibition which formerly had been held in the Salon Carré soon outgrew those quarters, and fear that their pictures would be overlooked among the multitude of canvases led painters to increase the size of Salon pictures irrespective of the subject.

After the fall of the monarchy, the royal collections of art were assembled in the Louvre and opened to the public. This collection was augmented for a short period early in the nineteenth century by the treasures brought to Paris by Napoleon. These included some of the greatest examples of ancient sculpture and such masterpieces of painting as Raphael's "Transfiguration" and Titian's "Death of Peter Martyr." Painters born in the latter years of the eighteenth century were thus enabled for the first time to check up contemporary teaching by a systematic self-directed study of the great masters. All these circumstances contributed to the individualistic and international character of modern painting.

David's art originated under the old régime, and it was not to be expected that men of a later generation brought up under auspices so different from those attending his early years could

continue his style with sincerity. But his teaching was the point of departure for two groups of painters holding widely differing views.

The more conservative group was led by Ingres (1780–1867), originally a pupil of David but as an artist very differently constituted. The sojourn in Italy which followed his success in winning the Prix de Rome was devoted to study of Italian primitives instead of late Greek statues. On this account David regarded him as a traitor. Like his master, he was preoccupied with form rather than colour, but his method of delineation resulted from a different conception. David was intent upon correct anatomical structure, Ingres trusted the eye rather than the mind. He went so far as to condemn in theory the study of the skeleton and to forbid its presence in his atelier. Sometimes the lack of articulation in his figures is disturbing, as in the "Turkish Bath," in which the human forms are truly though most unpleasantly characterized by Elie Faure as "squirming larvae." But as a rule, even when his figures are not accurately constructed, they are made beautiful by felicity of line or arrangement (Pl. 81c and Pl. 80a).

This is admirably illustrated in the "Odalisque" and in the "Source." The latter begun early in his career but finished towards the end of his life, is entirely free from academic coldness and from self-conscious sentimentality. Its grace recalls his predecessor, the sculptor Houdon.

In examples involving many figures the painter was less successful. The "Apotheosis of Homer" cannot be judged as it is seen today, since the composition was adapted to a position on the ceiling. This accounts for the unpleasant telescoping of building and groups. But it is lacking in exuberance; it seems mechanical in its exact symmetry and carefully calculated balance, although doubtless in its original position this was less obvious. The pale tinting of forms strongly marked by light and shade fails to enchance their reality. The "Golden Age" and the "Turkish Bath" are monotonous in the repetition of nude figures which are unvaried by draperies and fail to exhibit an ordered design in grouping. These seem strange faults in so devoted a student of Raphael.

Ingres was at his best in portraiture. The delight he took in arabesques of line inclined him to avoid strong lighting and he compressed the design into low relief. Darkly clad figures are contrasted only slightly with the background in order that the shapes of the light areas may please the eye. As in early painting,

(*A*) David. Oath of the Horatii. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*B*) Géricault. Raft of the Medusa. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*C*) Delacroix Women of Algeria in the Harem. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*A*) David. Mlle. Charlotte du Val d'Ognes. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*B*) Ingres. Portrait of Mme. Leblanc. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Chassériau. Esther. Collection of Arthur Chassériau, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*D*) Delacroix. Adam and Eve. Library, Palais Bourbon, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*A*) Corot. The Bridges at Mantes. Louvre, Paris. (Bulloz)

(*B*) Rousseau. Edge of the Woods. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Millet. Autumn. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*A*) Corot. Woman with Water Jar. Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington. (Juley)

(*B*) Ingres. The Bather. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*C*) Corot. The Goatherd. Louvre, Paris. (N D Photo)

scale is an important feature. The pictures are exercises in pure design. Such graceful and refined women as "Mlle. Rivière" and "Mme. de Sennones" are made the excuse for rhythms carried into the minutest detail. Even the features lend themselves to the linear scheme, or, rather, the artist has built up his scheme to suit the rhythm which the individual physiognomy suggests. He "stripped his models of their material character," Hourticq says, "not of their individuality."

The exquisite grace in the pose of the head of "Mme. Leblanc" (Pl. 78B) and the beauty of execution of the features seem more intimate and tender as one approaches the picture, in which the play of related lines in head and neck keep the eye encircling the lovely face again and again. The modelling is reduced to the barest necessities, but perfectly conveys the assurance of form which is enforced by every linear device. The Paisley shawl brings in a bit of delightful colour and by its small meandering ornament affords variation of scale. It is interesting to quote Walter Pach on the matter of Ingres' colour: "Whoever has reached even a tentative understanding of Ingres's art," he says, "has felt the appropriateness of his colour and realized that no change in it could be for the better. So too his manner of painting is mastery itself when applied to the order of ideas he had to express."

The peculiar beauty of Ingres' work nevertheless is independent of colour, as we may prove by turning to his pencil drawings, such, for instance, as the portrait of "Mme. Destouches" (Louvre) or of the "Stamaty Family" (Bayonne). Both are enchantingly lovely. The pencil line is precise but marvellously pliant and sensitive. The design, both in relation to the boundary and in the interplay of the various parts, is sheer perfection.

The art of Ingres is circumscribed but its value is its beauty. It is an art of seeing. His seeing did not include the full colour or light of the world, but form refined and harmonized as for a cameo cutter. "It is . . . the rhythm whose living force compels our admiration before all Ingres' pictures even when we dislike their episodes" (Meier-Graefe). The tradition of Ingres survived, but it was modified by contact with other current ideas, especially those of the Romanticists to whom we must turn back.

The men who were to bring about the Romantic revolution, Géricault and Delacroix, were born in the last decade of the eighteenth century. They were fiery spirits, nonconformists, men whom the very slogan of Classicism incited to fury. These op-

ponents of the classic revival were not anti-traditionals, but they followed a different tradition from the classicists. They were admirers of the ardent creators and manipulators of mass and colour. Rubens, Rembrandt, and Michelangelo were their heroes. The action of human bodies under some supreme physical strain, the exaltation of battle, the anguish of despair were the motives they chose. Medieval history with its nationalistic emphasis was preferred to classical themes; the writers popular at the period, Shakespeare, Goethe, Byron, or Scott, as well as contemporary history, furnished them with subjects of special appeal at this period of the Gothic revival. The immediate point of departure for this group was the late work of David himself, in which he not only introduced men of his own day but exhibited a more pictorial method than in earlier examples.

His pupil Gros (1771–1835) had served under Napoleon in the Italian campaigns. He gave the earliest record of the actuality of war and in scenes celebrating his hero he worked with the strong emotion of the romantic painter. His technique also underwent a change, and although he failed to give his shadows rich colour, light and shade were juxtaposed in a pictorial manner. In the "Plague of Joppa," light was used to centre the interest and to increase the dramatic effect. Although Gros was not always consistent in carrying out this new program himself, he was ready to champion the cause in others, and he supplied a suitable frame for the earliest of Delacroix's pictures to be accepted for exhibition in the Salon.

The first bold announcement of a new program was made in Géricault's (1791–1824) picture representing the "Raft of the Medusa" (1819) (Pl. 77B). This was in a sense a political cartoon. Contending parties were making a political issue of placing the responsibility for this catastrophe which had occurred three years previously, and the representation of the sufferers on the raft assured the picture immediate notoriety. The composition is striking on account of its closely packed group. With eyes partly closed, the mass resolves itself into one agonized pyramidal leap crowned by the sharp isolation of the silhouette against the sky. The figure signalling for help is upheld by the dead and the living: the dead slipping into the sea with each lurch of the raft; the living built into the movement like stones in a cathedral spire. Crash against crash, abrupt angulation, a sense of movement now lifting on the wave, now sucked down, describes the composition. There is no beauty anywhere: no beauty of form, no

beauty of colour, but immense power in the expression of human solidarity. Imprisoned energy is the real subject.

Géricault did other paintings in his brief life, but this is sufficient to assure his place. It was this picture which sent Delacroix tearing through the streets like a madman, as he recounts in his "Journal," and it was to Delacroix (1798–1863) that the romanticists turned for leadership after Géricault's early death.

Delacroix, who came of a good family, was well educated and was characterized by the depth of his intellect and his comprehensive view of the function of art. He said, "The true painter is he who knows all of nature. Human figures, animals, landscape, should be treated with the same perfection . . . Rubens is of that family."

As young men, Delacroix and Barye were friends, and together they made pilgrimages to the Jardin des Plantes, drawn to the study of animals unconsciously, perhaps, by the newly awakened interest which at this time, following the investigations of Lamarck, was paving the way for the theory of evolution. This was the earliest consciously scientific study of animals not only as structures but also as expressive beings with mysterious potentialities. Ferocity, which had so conspicuously marked men's dealings with one another during the preceding decades, was the quality emphasized by both artists, and expressed with unrivalled genius by Barye. For Delacroix, colour as well lent a deep interest. Later, when he travelled in Morocco, Arabian horses in their fierce joy of swiftness or in their savage encounters with one another were given dramatic grandeur by the intensity of the master's concentration (see "Encounter of Two Moroccan Cavaliers," 1834).

For Delacroix there was no such thing as the tradition of line—he might have said with Goya, "Give me a charcoal and I will paint your portrait." This may be seen in his first Salon picture, the "Dante and Virgil." The powerful forms are realized as if executed in a plastic medium. The element of colour is negligible and yet colour was to be one of Delacroix's most important contributions to modern art (Pl. 82c).

He first felt the necessity for modifying his work in this direction when he saw in the Salon of 1824 the landscapes of Constable. Even after the repainting or retouching of the "Massacre of Scio" which followed, the colour still lacks sensuous or atmospheric qualities. Full revelation came only as a result of his trip to Morocco in 1831–1832. "All Goya palpitates around me," Delacroix writes. During his stay there his eye and his imagination

were stored with images that served him for the rest of his life. The movement and turmoil, the whirlwind breathlessness, the exciting contrasts of colour, are permanent characteristics of his later pictures. Eastern studies remained a popular subject in French art for years. Delacroix's theoretic study of colour (see his "Journal") was begun at this time, and certain of these theories were embodied in the "Women of Algeria," painted after his return. Reproductions give no idea of this picture. As seen in black and white, there is an apparent lack of composition and a certain awkwardness in the poses. But the composition *is* colour. Colours pulsate from their lights to their shadowed echoes and back again, never lost even in the depths of shadow. The scheme is oriental but it is given a personal rendering (Pl. 77c).

A similar method is used in the "Two Foscari," where intensities of colour have been employed so that full richness is retained even in deep shadow. The colour scheme is made up of burnt orange and vermilion, contrasted with green-blues and wine colours. Meier-Graefe says that when Delacroix painted the "Entry of the Crusaders into Jerusalem" a gleam of sunshine fell upon the art of France. Progression and recession of massed groups is here employed in a manner recalling Rubens. This play of in-and-out relief is an innovation, and the utilization of depth as a part of design distinguishes Delacroix from contemporary painters. The elements of the design, however, are not schooled to a decorative function as with Rubens. Although less harassed and turbulent than some examples this painting also is all a-flutter; only the dead are relaxed.

From 1833 to 1847 Delacroix was employed to decorate the Chamber of Deputies. He first received the commission for the Throne Room, which was followed by that for the Library. These paintings, open to the public only when the Chamber is not in session, are among the most important French decorations of the nineteenth century.

In the Throne Room, Delacroix has made a splendid modern adaptation of a Venetian scheme. The ceiling panels are filled with figures "which symbolize the living forces of the state, Justice, Industry, Agriculture, and War." The same subjects are illustrated by groups in the corresponding spandrels. Heroic figures painted in chiaroscuro typifying the rivers of France divide the walls below.

The decoration of the Library, which has been called the French Sistine Chapel, necessitated a corps of assistants. Delacroix

wrote, "The work requires a fecund idea emphasizing neither reality or allegory too strongly but wholly controlled by taste." The comprehensive scheme in which the agencies of man's education in the humanities are shown recalls Renaissance conceptions. Hemicycles at the ends of the apartment illustrate "Orpheus Bringing Civilization to Greece," and "Attila Invading Italy." In these compositions the figures are small and much space is devoted to landscape and sky.

Four pendentives ornamenting each of the five domes illustrate Philosophy, Science, Legislation, Poetry, and Theology. The compositions show great diversity of design and the conceptions are wholly individual, but the grandeur of the forms belongs to the tradition of the Renaissance and recalls Delacroix's habit of turning over his collection of reproductions of the great masters to fire his imagination for the task of composition (Pl. 78D). A collaborator writes, "He took whatever was suitable to his subject of figures or of entire groups without the least scruple." Delacroix's individuality was so strong that he could safely draw from many sources of inspiration without endangering the independence of his style. At the same period he was occupied with mural paintings in St. Sulpice. In the "Expulsion of Heliodorus" the space is grandly laid out and individual figures in the foreground are powerfully conceived, but they are scattered and jagged in movement and lack co-ordination. On the opposite wall a splendid landscape forms the setting for the struggle of Jacob and the angel. Although the power of the master is evident the chapel is so full of violence and turbulence, and the pictures so unrelated, that the effect lacks harmony.

To enumerate all the subjects in which Delacroix was interested recalls the masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Meier-Graefe says his mind was open to all impressions, from whatsoever source. Like the Italians, he was interested in theoretic as well as in practical questions and his "Journal" contains some of the earliest contributions to modern theories of colour. It was in his intellectual power and robustness that he most resembled the giants of the Renaissance. He writes in his "Journal," "I believe that I have done certain bits that would not be condemned by those gentlemen [Titian and Raphael] and I have used certain inventions that they have not." Nevertheless, judged by the standard of the greatest masters, he falls short of that measure of aloofness which enabled them to preserve a more satisfying harmony and equilibrium. As the strength of the convention in Titian

is best apprehended after we have studied Rubens, so Rubens' design is easier to understand from the vantage-ground of the nineteenth century, and in contrast to these great representatives of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we may be able to appreciate where Delacroix's art falls short. He considered exaggeration legitimate and he sometimes failed to realize that, whatever waves of movement and colour might fill his canvas with apparent tumult, the craving for order must be met by a larger decorative rhythm to which they are subject as are ocean waves to tides. Although Delacroix formed no school and had no immediate following, the vitality that he possessed revivified the art of the nineteenth century.

Delacroix and Ingres led opposed parties and their portraits present a suggestive contrast. That of Ingres has all the qualities of distinction characterizing his work; in that of Delacroix there is an inner fire that kindles us as we look. Neither artist produced notable pupils, but one man at least, drawing from both sources, showed genius of a high order—Chassériau (1819–1856), whom Meier-Graefe calls the Masaccio of the nineteenth century.

In his portraits, the tradition of his master Ingres is perpetuated, though even here a warmer, more sensuous quality is present, the natural trait of his creole blood. The portrait of the "Sisters" is a masterpiece. It meets unflinchingly the difficulties of the double portrait. It is stately in structural design and vigorous in its almost primitive scheme of colour. The rich turkey red of the shawls with variegated embroidery is contrasted with the strong green of the wall-paper—billiard-cloth green. The hair is blue-black, the dresses fawn.

Other pictures of the same period show the influence of Delacroix. "Esther" is built on more generous lines than any of Ingres' figures (Pl. 78c). There is an exotic splendour about her foreign to the French tradition. The blood of the tropics is carried in her veins, and the images of Solomon's Song would apply to her. Meier-Graefe says of Chassériau, "It is as if the West had given him words, the East melody." This is still more applicable, perhaps, to the superb women of the "Peace" (Louvre), the ruin of what must have been one of the greatest mural decorations of the century. (It was painted 1844–1848 for the Palace de la Cour des Comptes.) These women seem like a part of nature, like clusters of ripe grapes, heavy and luxuriant. They are impersonal, embodying the sex, not the individual. There is an indescribable

dusky beauty, a primitive and elemental enticement here that Chassériau's work alone exemplifies.

Of the two painters who "carried on" one was Moreau (1826–1898), whose exotic style is also decadent; the other, Puvis de Chavannes (1824–1898), who minimizes the human element until his painting is almost depersonalized.

The full-blooded quality of Delacroix and Chassériau with their oriental splendour of colour makes the work of Puvis seem like an abstraction. "His classicism is absolutely unacademic, his romanticism unreal beyond the verge of mysticism" (Brownell). Of his own contemporaries, Puvis was most indebted to Chassériau and to Corot, but the sources of his art are to be traced in the French tradition deriving from Italy by way of Poussin and Ingres. Whatever he received was so subordinated to his decorative formula that it is scarcely recognizable. He was exclusively a mural painter. Perhaps he carried to an extreme the modifications which he considered essential for this art, but it was better to err in this direction than in the opposite. In decorating a room he remembered that his work was "to modify the room as an adjective modifies a noun." When he attempted easel pictures he was less fortunate: they are adjectives lacking a noun or positive element.

In the decoration of the Sorbonne Puvis gives a synthesis of education of the nineteenth century which has been compared to that with which Raphael adorned the Sala della Segnatura.

He made his greatest innovation in landscape, "which has a local tinge belonging to France alone." Deriving it in part from Corot, in part from some passing view of nature (as from the train window) he employs landscape in an arbitrary fashion, free from naturalistic accidents. Local setting, when used, is given a typical expression as the elemental simplicity appropriate to ancient times, the quiet of a remote Arcadia where gods assemble, the plenty of the harvest. "He shows the habits of the green things, but so related to elemental rhythms as to be free from the limitation of natural appearance" (Rankin). In large areas, as on the walls of the Sorbonne, landscape furnishes the staging which separates the groups and articulates the space. No more harmonious setting could be found than that of the Sorbonne decoration. When we come to the figures, they are frankly archaic in drawing. They are shape rather than space areas, patterns of light and dark rather than plastic creations of light and shade. They fly without impediment of weight, move without sound, and com-

municate without speech. Thought abstractions rather than sense symbols, they liberate the mind from the physical world. Meier-Graefe says it is like entering a church to visit the room where Puvis's pictures are shown (Pl. 91B).

In early examples the group is brought together as a mass set against the background in a manner comparable to Titian's or Poussin's. Later the tendency is to loosen and scatter the figures so that they play the part of a melody reiterated against the continuous landscape. The place of humanity in the great economy of nature is the theme treated in constant variation, man at his labour and woman rearing and training the race.

In the Panthéon he is narrator. The childhood of St. Geneviève is shown in the midst of the primitive life of an early settlement, her mystic intuitions setting her apart from the affairs of every day. The story is treated with tenderness and delicacy. The scenes from the end of her life, so happily entrusted to Puvis after the death of Meissonier, are austere in design and colour. In contrast to the rich spring arabesque of the early series, severe horizons and the formidable mass of the city gate form the background. The figures are medieval counterparts to Greek vase design (Pl. 84C).

The colour which so distressed his contemporaries binds the decorations indissolubly to the walls, and in this case the decorator has so subordinated himself to the architect that it is difficult to believe that building and decoration alike did not emanate from the same mind. One has to go back at least as far as Raphael to discover an equal unity.

In the face of criticism and ridicule Puvis maintained his stand with unswerving continuity of purpose and "has finally won all suffrage for an esthetic expression that is really antagonistic to the general esthetic spirit of his time" (Brownell). This long survey embraces a century beginning with two strongly opposed artistic currents which were united in Chassériau. After the middle of the century interest was diverted into naturalistic channels, but the idealism and poetry of Puvis is one of the wide-spreading circles emanating from the art of Ingres (Frontispiece).

(*A*) Marcel Duchamp. King and Queen Surrounded by Swift Nudes. Collection of W. C. Arensberg, Los Angeles

(*B*) Poussin. Triumph of David. College Gallery, Dulwich. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*C*) Ingres. Odalisque. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*A*) David. Portrait of Mme. Morel de Tangry and her two Daughters. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*B*) Redon. The Closed Eyes. Luxembourg, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*C*) Delacroix. Dante and Virgil Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

CHAPTER XXXIX

LANDSCAPE PAINTING: THE BARBIZON SCHOOL

The emphasis placed by Romanticism upon the emotions led to a study of landscape more intimate and affectionate than anything that had gone before. The early landscape painters of France are sometimes known as the Men of 1830. One lonely figure, Georges Michel (1763–1843), only recently has been recognized as a precursor of this group. He was little known during his lifetime and his inconspicuous and sombre pictures have attracted attention only as the more significant aspects of landscape art gradually have been realized.

Shortly before the middle of the nineteenth century a group of painters settled in and near the village of Barbizon in the Forest of Fontainebleau, drawn together by a common love of solitude and a common desire to study nature. This was their chief claim to be regarded as a "school." Temperament, talent, and training were very diverse.

The most commanding figure is that of Corot (1796–1875), who was older by a generation than Rousseau and Millet. He occupies an exceptional place among nineteenth century painters. because of his freedom from formula of any kind; and this is true although he best represents the classic tradition in French painting. He had no program and no mannerisms in a period when both were rife. No wonder Meier-Graefe calls him a heaven-sent surprise. Form came to him from the classic masters of painting, but although we can discern these influences they have become so entirely a part of his own artistic fibre that it is difficult to believe that independently he would have failed to reach his goal. His work from the figure recalls both Vermeer and Chardin without resembling either. The strength of his individual outlook and his delicate perception as a colourist set him apart from his contemporaries.

Harmony was his ideal as it had been that of Claude. He was not a space composer opening out great vistas before the eye, but he studied with care the beautiful relationship between light and dark areas of sky and tree. This was carefully established

in his initial study, as may be seen in examining his canvases, where the first blocking out of the principal divisions of light and dark is apparent almost always.

The groundwork was laid in in raw umbers, black, and white, heightened by siennas and umbers. The main distribution of light and dark and the approximate values were thus established. This gave his most delicate fantasies their solidity. After an interval, the work was completed with transparent and half-transparent colours. Meier-Graefe says, "Just as his proverbial kindliness of heart was combined with immense physical strength, so also his pliant form overlay an elementary vigour, which preserved that pliancy from sentimental inanity." His finished canvases appear as spontaneous as do the sketches of other painters.

His colour never varied greatly from the neutral hue, and many of his works might be described as symphonies in olive and grey. It is a grey modulated from the cool blue of French skies through neutral tones of silvered poplar, gaining by juxtaposition subtle nuances of violet and blue. If his scheme verges on monotony, a touch of clear blue or gold counts by contrast as a staccato note.

Outside circumstance was indifferent to Corot. He was absorbed, to the close of his long life, in the tranquil pursuit of his art. He travelled and worked in Italy. Many of his early pictures are views of Italian cities, and many of his later works he calls Italian memories, but in reality the latter are fantasies, half dreams, half visions. It is astonishing to observe his unabated freshness of vision.

His early pictures, executed about 1830, have to an extent a topographical interest; that is, they record actual spots, as the "Roman Forum," the "Cathedral at Chartres," etc. They are simple and direct, with contrasts of light and shade defined in flat tones. The choice of delicate values gives them dignity.

Works of the next decade illustrate his use of the classical type, as the "Flight into Egypt" and the "Baptism." In contrast to Claude, the landscape of the "Flight" is an intimate scene on the borders of a French river. It has none of the majestic staging of the seventeenth century. The "Baptism of Christ" has found its interpreter in a landscape painter who fills his high canvas with soft foliage of willows swaying against the sky and makes the most of the sylvan beauty of the river valley. Sacred figures follow tradition, but those gathered at the bank are friendly people who have come as spectators and participators.

In the Salon of 1850 the "Dance of the Nymphs" was exhibited.

The motive for the background had been sketched years before in the Villa Farnese. We have become so familiar with this composition that its splendid massing and strong movement are sometimes forgotten. The distribution of masses and the staging of the main group of dancers are both part of a perfectly unified scheme no less scientific than that of Claude, but more spontaneous. The execution itself is of less interest than is usual with Corot; it lacks the freshness of certain of the examples in the Thomy Thiery Collection, Louvre (Pl. 79A and Pl. 80C).

It is as poet that Corot is the greatest landscape painter France has produced, and he is most the poet when he is nearest to the soil. Ville d'Avray, with the river and screen of trees, is sufficient material for numberless lyrics. He shows moors drenched in light against which is tenderly etched the vibrant form of an isolated tree and he gives it the unforgettable quality of a verse by Tagore.

Corot's early training was the study of the figure, and the anatomical structure of trees shows the draughtsman's knowledge; the foreshortening of slender black branches, the picking out and merging of the trunk against the background, form one of the greatest beauties of his canvases. A characteristic example is the "Ville d'Avray" (Metropolitan Museum). This is very nearly a monochrome. The dark tones are a greyed blue-green; as they pass into middle and low light values, the green tone is imperceptibly merged into a grey composed of pearly and even blue notes. A light slightly warmer than the sky strikes the stucco houses seen behind the principal tree. The little foreground figure in sombre tones has a cap of yellow gold and a sleeve of Millet blue.

Perhaps Corot's independence of the fashion of his day is nowhere more apparent than in the "Destruction of Sodom" (1851). It has nothing archaeological about it. Fear-stricken figures move swiftly and noiselessly across the foreground, their garments caught in the wind which drives the smoke of the burning city in long diagonals across the sky. An impression of breathless haste is created, while the line of the wall and the motionless pillar of salt give assurance of a fundamental stability in things. Nowhere has he forgotten his mission as composer and by preservation of the sense of measure he has attained a higher type of esthetic beauty than did Delacroix.

Among his late works are a number of single figures. The "Young Greek" and the "Lady in Blue" (Louvre) combine a solid construction and a delicacy of tone which recall Vermeer.

Vermeer left one rare canvas in which the loveliness of girlhood captivates with its ingenuous charm, and it is with this portrait in The Hague that Corot's "Young Greek" may be compared. A characteristic figure is illustrated in Pl. 80B.

Although the eldest of the Barbizon group, Corot lived until 1875. The noonday sun of Impressionism was shining when he laid down his brush. Individual as he remained, Corot stood for the conservative tradition in French painting and "when he died a style died."

The serenity which marked his temperament was at strange variance with the character of Rousseau and their artistic productions present no less a contrast. Although born in Paris, Rousseau (1812–1867) had shown from boyhood a passion for the forest. As a youth this was stimulated by a lumbering trip into the deep woods. All his life, contact with nature afforded him the solace which human companionship failed to yield. He journeyed and painted in various parts of France before settling in Barbizon about 1844. Here he led a life half artist, half Trappist (Rolland). He says, "The whole leafy world was a world of the dumb whose signs I guessed and whose passions I discovered." Millet writes to him, "It is easy to see that nature has spoken to you directly and that you look upon her with your own eyes. . . ."

Correspondence between these friends enables us not only to gain an insight into their minds but also to follow their technical practice. Rousseau was influenced by Dutch painting and always adhered to the strong contrasts seen in Ruisdael and Hobbema. Generally we can follow his procedure. In unfinished sketches, as in the "Road in the Forest of Fontainebleau" (Thomy Thiery Collection, Louvre), handling and animation recall Constable vividly. He seldom succeeded in finished pictures in keeping the freshness shown in this sketch. The use of bitumen (a drying varnish) has often darkened and cracked his surfaces so that it is difficult to estimate the effect which full colour originally gave to his solemn forms.

He was always in danger of losing simplicity by too detailed a finish. His pictures often lack "the correctness and justice of the whole together" which was his definition of finish. Rousseau does not paint light; his trees are not really under blue skies or bathed in air. In this he is less advanced than Crome or Constable.

The giant form of forest oaks was his chosen subject. He thought of trees as personalities. He says, ". . . Let us try in our works that the manifestation of life be our first thought. Let us make a

man breathe, a tree really vegetate." They are studied with "the sincerity of a grateful attention" and with as great a respect for structure as if they were nude bodies. If figures are introduced, it is only to show by their scale the imposing height of the forest. The "Edge of the Woods" (Pl. 79B) in the Metropolitan Museum is a little sombre in colouring but thoroughly characteristic. The splendid strength of the oak, the expressive movement, and the design of the mass against the sky, produce a grand effect.

Technically this is interesting in connection with Rousseau's description of the thinly glazed tone into which he introduced "definite accents as upon a woof of neutral value." The darks are rubbed in in a transparent raw umber. The principal tree has a second somewhat cooler rubbing but is almost wholly transparent. This furnishes the foundation for a thin layer of opaque colour for the nearer foreground forms. The sky is dappled with silver—brilliant clouds, like the puff, puff, puff of tugboat smoke. Other clouds in horizontal formation are ingeniously represented by scraping the pigment back to the wooden panel with the palette knife. Sky and ground are related by the grey light falling on the rock and the path; such a relation of cool and warm tones generally preserves the unity of his colour.

The strength of contrasting tones and feeling for pattern is sometimes almost suggestive of Renaissance brocades. In the "Sunset" (Louvre), the arabesque of trunks and branches is particularly vigorous. Energy of line and contour contrast effectively with the background. Foliage of soft grey-green is brought against the apricot sky, which is reflected in the pool. The sun almost disappears in light and the distance is like a mirage melting in the brilliance.

When Rousseau desired to show a student that general massing was the essential of good composition, he illustrated by covering a sketch with successive layers of tissue-paper. Colour and detail first disappeared and then the division of lesser masses became obscure until the composition resolved itself into large space divisions of the dark mass of earth against the sky. He observed that the evolution of a picture could be illustrated by reversing the process.

The paintings of Corot appear still to be veiled by an intervening sheet of tissue-paper. All the colour is greyed and intricate detail is lacking. In Rousseau's work the final sheet of paper has been removed. Forms stand out in strong opposition of light and dark and in sharp detail. The result, instead of being subtle,

is vigorous; instead of lyric, dramatic. Nature is seen under a stern aspect by this artist for whom his work was this "terrible vocation of a painter."

Millet (1814–1875), although not exclusively a landscape painter, was born in Barbizon and was closely affiliated with the group. He was a devoted student of nature and his figure compositions were generally dominated by natural setting. Man's dependence on the soil is so much a part of Millet's conception that it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between landscape and figure composition. The "Sower," the first canvas in which his characteristic subjects appeared, was exhibited in the Salon of 1850. Those who thought that in this picture Millet was enunciating a social program were mistaken. It was not the individual that concerned him; his subject was labour rather than the labourer. Here he represented *the* sower not *a* sower. In such a picture Millet perpetuated the "calendars" of the Gothic period in which the labours of the months were typified. As a youth he had spent eighteen years working in the fields. He experienced the struggle of man to bring his small effort into conformity with the laws of nature and "took part in all those acts of rustic life, the poetic and mysterious grandeur of which he was afterwards to express" (Rolland). Although his canvases are small, Millet's interest in the subject was that of an interpreter, not that of an illustrator. In this respect his work contrasts with later generations of peasant painters. "In his pictures, sowing, reaping, and grafting are all of them sacred actions and have a beauty and grandeur of their own" (Gautier, quoted by Ady).

Cox compares him as a draughtsman to Michelangelo, but perhaps a comparison with Giotto would better suggest the simplification of the figure beneath the clumsy peasant dress. Only the significant areas of suspension are shown. The character of his people is like that of the sod from which they are only partially separated. When they are heroically beautiful, it is not as human beings but as integral parts of the universe.

The conscientiousness of the painter's aim is illustrated in his own words describing the "Water Carrier" (Vanderbilt Collection, New York). He writes, "I have tried to make her look as if she were carrying neither more nor less than the weight of the buckets full of water; and that through the kind of grimace which the load she bears forces her to make, and the blinking of her eyes in the sunlight, you should be able to see the air of rustic kindness on her face. . . . I have also tried to make people feel the freshness of

the well, and to show by its ancient air how many generations have come there before her to draw water."

Millet was more of a draughtsman than a painter and some of his finest effects are preserved in his sketches, in which the sheet of white paper often is given dazzling brilliance by contrast with the velvety blacks of the charcoal, as in the "Shepherd Bringing back his Flocks." Another, the "Fall of the Leaf," is a severe composition of opposed lines. The narrow foreground is dark in value, the larger trees grip the ground tenaciously. The slender ones are tempered to the bleak autumn wind, which draws through their baring branches, carrying off its toll of leaves. The motionless figure of the shepherd gazes over the plain. He dominates the composition and we look out with *his* eyes.

The domestic surroundings of the painter's home provide the background for intimate scenes of everyday life, as in "First Steps," the "Grafter," or the "Newborn Calf." In the painting of "Spring," he has shown his orchard drenched by a downpour which still floods the wheel ruts, and glorified by a burst of sunlight that brings out the forms of distant trees flattened against the thunderclouds. He has shown the freshening of all local colours after the shower. The light of the clearing sky is reflected in the puddles, and against the heavy clouds shimmers a brilliant rainbow. He has caught a freshness that one can feel and smell. It is like a little paean to "our brother, the sun."

This is exceptional in its quality as a painting but an even greater feeling for pigment is evident in the "Autumn" (Pl. 79c). In few instances has Millet manipulated his paint and brush with an equal zest. How admirably the foreground is executed. Clouds, wind, sunlight, the intoxication of late October, all are here. The woman's form under the close drawn shawl reminds us that Madame Millet complained of the length of time she was expected to wear a garment before it acquired the expressive form demanded by the painter. Against scudding clouds the butternut tree throws its branches in intricate fenestration. It was the fruit of many an autumn that Millet harvested that day.

The cliffs near Gréville were the scene of Millet's childhood to which he returned at the close of his life. He shows the loneliness of the great spaces: a stage where he had seen tragedy enacted, although now the sea merely marks the horizon of a picture of earth, seamed and barren from the action of nature's forces, in which man's part is almost negligible. The same certainty characterizes the drawing as in the figure studies, the same sense of

osseous framework and of more yielding surfaces. Man is as secondary to nature here as in a Chinese painting.

The quality of these examples recalls Millet's statement, "Every landscape . . . ought to suggest the possibility of indefinite extension, the tiniest corner of the horizon ought to be so painted as to make us feel that it is but a segment of the great circle which bounds our sight" (Rolland). In Millet's letters such sentiments often recur. He is always turning from the particular to the general. He said that it must be possible through the trivial to express the significant and Rousseau remarked of him "Under the garb of a peasant, he hides thoughts worthy of Vergil."

Corot, Rousseau, and Millet were the most important of the Barbizon painters, but at the same time a number of lesser men were adding to the production of the school works of interest and charm though not of comparable importance. Among these, Dupré (1811–1889), Diaz (1807–1876), and Daubigny (1817–1878) are the leading names. The first two follow the type of Rousseau, though inferior as composers and draughtsmen. Daubigny worked in a more meditative mood and produced fine compositions by his large, simple massing.

Troyon (1810–1865) was the leader among a group of painters of cattle. The animals were not treated with the impersonality of Cuyp, but as in his work, they are subordinated to nature and the pictures represent summer days, "in which cattle are introduced as a part of the beauty of movement and light."

The Barbizon painters were among the first to study nature intimately. To the greatest of them Whistler's description of the artist applies; they were "sons of nature in that they loved her and masters of nature in that they knew her."

CHAPTER XL

COURBET AND MANET

Certain parallels may be drawn between conditions in the Renaissance period and those in the modern world. Both were epochs in which great advances in material prosperity occurred; inventions and discoveries were made which revolutionized life and thought, and the work of the artist swung into line with these scientific tendencies and exhibited a new interest in the material world. When the observations of science led in 1859 to the publication of the "Origin of Species," the realistic movement in French painting was already well established.

The characterization that has been applied to Daumier (1808–1879) demonstrates this fact: "Daumier's work shows observation for method, independence for principle and honesty for guide." His livelihood necessitated work as a draughtsman and in the invention of political cartoons and social satires he appears as the most audacious of caricaturists. Meier-Graefe says of his creatures, "Their very marrow snarls and gibbers." But in addition to caustic wit by which he strips humanity bare of all disguise, he showed superb artistic gifts. The blacks, whites, and luminous greys of his lithographs possess at times a quality rivalling colour in its pictorial suggestion.

Although compelled to devote his chief energy to drawing for reproduction, he painted as well, especially between the years 1850 and 1864. Little regarded at the time, these pictures now excite deep admiration. In substituting colour for black ink he has lost none of the beauty of tonal relation and has enhanced the interest through greater variety. "On a Bridge at Night" (Phillips Collection) shows warm dusky tones—the soft ochre of the moonlight and the intense gobelin blue sky. The colour seems to enhance the grandeur of the simple and yet strangely moving forms (Pl. 84A).

Fine design is unfailing, and by his discriminating concern for artistic values, as will be evident shortly, he stands apart from the recognized leader of the realistic school. The contrast with Courbet is complete if we concur in Mr. Mather's opinion that it was by reflection, by second thought, that Daumier reached his over-

powering emotion. The "Robbers and the Ass" (Louvre) exhibits terrific energy; it belongs to the category of Delacroix's lions. The struggle of the contending assailants, made at the same time both actual and mysterious by the method of lighting, recalls Tintoretto's "Cain and Abel." His intensity is even greater than that of Delacroix because it is expressed more directly in an art more closely reasoned and one in which design-pattern plays an interpretative part. This is well illustrated in his masterpiece, the "Drama." The tense crowd with horrified faces rises in a dark mass to frame the frenzied action on the stage, with its explosive centrifugal movement. Forms intensely dramatic function also as elements of design.

But Daumier's paintings were small in size and few in number, and their importance was overlooked at the time. It is to Courbet that we must turn as the recognized leader of the new movement. In the Salon of 1850 a picture was exhibited which created as great a break with precedent as had the "Raft of the Medusa" in 1819. This was the "Burial at Ornans" by Gustave Courbet (1819–1877). The commonplaces of a village funeral were here set forth in life-sized figures—a scale which hitherto had been confined to classical and monumental subjects. In the mourners Courbet "shows us the peasants of Ornans with their odd costumes and their grotesque heads, just as Rousseau had painted his gnarled old oaks" (Hourticq) (Pl. 83A).

Perhaps the quality which strikes us most forcibly in the picture is the absence of the organization which is characteristic of older art. Our eye wanders from figure to figure, observing here the perfunctory following of a ritual, there curiosity or stolidity among the bystanders, or again the tears of one bereaved. No one person is prominent and no effort seems to have been made to emphasize a central interest, but in some way unity has been achieved and, as on the actual occasion, the common thought brings us back without any essential diversion to the open grave.

The artist is entirely matter-of-fact. He is not seeking for any special effect or making any emotional appeal, yet in this picture, which Faure calls "the most powerful epic of the family in the history of painting," the impersonal method strengthens the reality. Was this what Mary Cassatt meant when she called the picture pure Greek? Courbet records with exactness what is taking place and leaves the observer to make whatever deductions he may choose as to the philosophy of life.

It is remarkable that the painter was able to give so successful

an expression of emotion, for we know that this was a carefully constructed mise-en-scene, for which Courbet engaged his townsfolk to pose. It was painted figure by figure in the restricted limits of his work-room in Ornans.

Most reproductions are too small to show the heads of the women to the right. They epitomize human anguish. Note the convulsive way in which the younger woman catches her breath, her handkerchief held before her mouth, the face swollen and heavy with weeping, and what extraordinary expression he has given to the woman who buries her whole face in the great handkerchief pressed to her eyes by her large black-gloved hands (Pl. 83B).

In the original the effect of colour is impressive. As a background, the gaunt forms of the Jura country rise against a sombre sky. No variety of hues is shown in the light areas, which are all whites rendered realistically in grey and green-grey. The official black dress is broken here and there by terra-cotta, dull red, blue, or grey. The ruddy flesh tones furnish important notes in the scheme. In this picture Courbet initiated the realistic movement of the nineteenth century and "in him Classicism and Romanticism found a common enemy."

The "Man with the Leather Belt" is a portrait of the artist himself. It is not a pleasant picture. Faure comments upon the eyes, "sleepy and large like those of an animal," and in his instinctive response to external stimulus Courbet retained much of the animal nature. For him immediate sensation, unqualified by reflection, is the motive power. As a thinker he was limited, as a man he had glaring weaknesses, as a painter he was a materialist who said he would paint an angel when he saw one. His world was confined to here and now. "Physical sensations are intensified by absorption in the material world," and as a realist Courbet gained an enormous force by his lack of intellectualism.

Millet's "Sower" and Courbet's "Stone Breakers" appeared in the same Salon exhibition. Both painters were preoccupied with the problems of their craft. They must have been equally surprised at the interpretation put upon their work. Millet was thought to be enunciating socialist theory. Enthusiastic admirers of Courbet suggested that the "Stone Breakers" should be used as an altar-piece to show the brutalizing effect of unremitting labour. The two pictures represent divergent esthetic ideals. Millet was classical and typical, Courbet realistic and immediate. Sometimes from "fear of becoming slave of the ideal he became

slave of the model." His work met with a storm of disapproval. In 1855 both the "Funeral at Ornans" and the "Atelier" were refused space in the International Exhibition. Delacroix was enthusiastic in his admiration of the latter and wrote, "They have refused one of the most remarkable works of our day." Courbet was undaunted. He established himself in a shack near the entrance to the exhibit, inscribed above the entrance, "You will find better things here than opposite," and awaited results.

The "Atelier" represents the artist's studio, a huge, dim room in which some thirty small figures are assembled. The proportions suggest comparison with Velazquez' "Maids of Honour," but such a comparison brings out Courbet's lack of success in unifying the composition. An allegory is intended but the idea is too involved to convey by visual means and the effect is confusing, although certain parts are fine. The central group represents the artist painting (in the studio, notice) one of his typical landscapes. The nude model who stands at his shoulder and the little boy full of interested curiosity form a delightful theme. Other figures at the right representing his friends and inspirers are well designed and attractive. But the left side lacks coherence. The painter was more at home in the earlier canvas, where he recorded a common experience with such stark vigour.

Courbet painted a number of nudes, among them the "Source," the "Bathers," and the "Woman with the Parrot." His women are large and voluptuous but so hardy that they escape sensuality. One of the most beautiful is the "Woman with the Parrot." Mr. Pach says, "Its lines hold to a grand and pure design even while they partake in the work of simulating a thing in nature." There is no hardness or cut-out quality, but the flesh is very firm against the surrounding greens, umbers, and blacks, which form a sombre harmony. Especially noteworthy are the drawing of the right hand and the turn and contour of the left hip and upper leg. The face is beautifully painted, the mobility of the lips and the veiled depth of the eyes particularly. The realism is that of the eye, not of the photograph.

Holmes says, "Scientific landscape begins with Courbet"; he shows "nature without the intervention of feeling or temperament." He might almost be illustrating the science of his day which taught the impenetrability of matter. This offers a complete contrast with the contemporary work of the Barbizon group. Courbet's observation of the material qualities of objects led to a fine perception of texture, which gives distinction to his land-

scapes. Many of them are transcriptions of the Jura country in which the scheme of green and taupe produces a grave modulation of colour.

The complexities of these difficult subjects are admirably simplified both by the colour and by the care with which the point of view is chosen. Freedom from sentiment makes them a suitable background for the timid fawns which he draws so wonderfully—furtive, agile, alert creatures with silky coats and protective colouring which binds them to their surroundings (Pl. 83c). The "Combat of Stags" represents animal ferocity as it was shown by Delacroix and by Barye. The silence of the sunlit forest is broken by the cries of wounded creatures and the clashing of their antlers.

Delacroix speaks in his "Journal" of how hampering to his imagination was the presence of the model who never conformed to his inner vision. Ingres decried the use of the skeleton and adapted natural forms to a preconceived decorative scheme. Courbet took a step in the opposite direction—he bound himself to the individual model and chose to live within the confines of a world limited by the senses. Yet when we speak of him as a realist and the "father of latter art," we must discriminate between his realism and a slavish imitation of nature. Unconsciously to the painter himself, certain qualities of form forced themselves on his attention above others and in so far his work became interpretative. Courbet did not think; in a sense he did not see; that is, he was no seer. He looked and recorded and thereby initiated a new movement. These are the outstanding figures up to about 1860.

The transition from Courbet to the Impressionists was made in the work of Édouard Manet (1832–1883). Manet carried forward the naturalistic interests of Courbet and enriched his inheritance by study of the masters of the art of painting—so long forgotten—the Spanish and Dutch artists of the seventeenth century. This study was of particular value in the development of French painters because it brought to their attention a quality in which their own tradition was deficient—that is, sympathy with the *medium* of their art, the paint and the brush. Through study of these masters, Manet learned to value a brilliancy of technique hitherto lacking in the French school of the nineteenth century. He borrowed from Velazquez and from Goya the abbreviated touch which gives vivacity to his execution. Beside Velazquez his simplification may appear archaic, but the incisive touches with which he lays in the pupil of an eye, the shadow of a nostril, the line of a lip, constitute the language of the brush. Under-

standing of his pigment made him delight, as the seventeenth century masters had delighted, in creating texture, and his still life paintings are masterly in this respect. The heavy damask, the unripe peaches, the clusters of liquid grapes, and above all the full blown rose with petals so fragile that a breath would scatter them—such discriminations give us in each object its essential quality. His flowers have "a charm that conquers mortal fragility and evanescence" (Meier-Graefe). Manet had a strong feeling for decorative pattern, and contour played a larger part in his scheme than plastic qualities.

His creative faculty, which was ever alert, led to constant experimentation and innovation, so that his leadership was acknowledged by younger painters. He was a man of means and was thus able to secure a showing for his own paintings and to give practical encouragement to his friends when the Salon shut its doors.

Human types interested him and his desire to convey the pungency of whatever class of society he chose to represent led him to avoid professional models and to employ persons to pose for him in their habitual rôles—as the barmaid whose dexterous handling of the mugs of beer had interested him (Pl. 86A). He was impatient of dead routine which was so general in the teaching of the day. Nature appealed to him freshly and he could never believe that his direct rendering of what he saw *as* he saw it would meet with continued misunderstanding. But his life was led outside the camp. Pach says, "There is probably not another instance in history of a man who has brought upon himself the wrath and contumely of the public to the extent that Manet did by presenting it with masterpieces." By the time that the long delayed recognition came in the form of the Cross of the Legion of Honour (1881), Manet had already suffered a stroke.

Of his early period, when the seventeenth century influence was strong, is the "Boy with the Sword" (1861) of the Metropolitan Museum. The directness of method, the subdued scheme of colour, the decorative quality resulting from the tone relations, all recall the art of Hals.

Manet's great affront to the public dated from 1863 when his "Déjeuner sur l'Herbe," refused by the Salon, was shown in the famous Salon des Refusés. A nude model and figures in modern costume are seated on the grass. His student days had been spent in drawing from the nude; here he used it. He admired the Venetian masters; here he translated the "Fête Champêtre" of Gior-

gione into a contemporary picture. Both offended the public taste. But worse than either, was his treatment of colour. Brilliant hues are juxtaposed and colour invades the shadow areas. The lighting is that of the studio—the contours are cut out, not broken and dissolved in diffused illumination. With the direct painting and slight transitions, these contrasts seemed so crude that the picture was even more condemned for its brilliance than for its other offences against taste.

The "Olympia" (1865) was censured for the same reasons, and it was censured not only by the reactionaries and Classicists, for Courbet called it "the Queen of Spades, just come from the bath." The picture is startling (Pl. 92A). The effrontery of the impertinent little figure is made doubly insistent by the range between dark and light values and the subordination of transitional tones. Even today these characteristics are disconcerting at first. But how enchanting it is as contrasted with the colourless nudes surrounding it. The delicate tea-rose of the flesh is full of life and charm. It is set off by the ivory white of the silk scarf and the grey-white of the sheets with their pure neutral shadows. The negro wears pale rose, which is repeated in a deep shade by the ribbon in the young woman's hair. Browns, dull terra-cotta, and dark foliage green set the figures out in a bold pattern. We may range this picture in the sequence with the "Venus with a Mirror" of Velazquez, the "Maja" of Goya, and the "Odalisque" of Ingres, only to make more apparent its modernity and to emphasize the part that Courbet's influence played in strengthening Manet to call a spade a spade and then to conquer prejudice with the beauty of his particular art—of painting.

Tea-rose is again the central note of colour in the "Woman with the Parrot" (Pl. 84B) in the Metropolitan Museum (1868). The picture illustrates qualities of space, rhythm, and colour. It is interesting to observe the choice of lines and accents which makes possible our realization of the poise and undulation of the figure. The position of the left arm defining the hip, the long sweeping brush stroke following the right side of the body, the black ribbon about the throat, and the black slipper immediately below almost compel the spectator's eye to create a plumb-line that will, by contrast, accelerate every curve of the lithe body.

It was natural that the younger men for whom the study of colour and light were of more interest than form should gather about this revolutionary painter. Writing of this period Faure says, "Manet reveals to Pissarro the secret of painting frankly

and without shadows; Pissarro, in turn, carries Manet with him to the fields, and shows him by his example, and especially by that of the virtuoso of the group, Claude Monet, that the open air suppresses not only modelling, but the very contour of the forms, and substitutes for local tone an infinite interchange of dancing reflections, tangled and indivisible, wherein the form hesitates and is submerged in the tide of the universe." From about 1873 Manet showed the influence of this contact and changed to a lighter key and looser handling (McColl).

Duret says that Manet's productions, ranged chronologically, show an uninterrupted advance towards increasingly brilliant and intense light. His interest in Parisian types persisted but he posed them out-of-doors, as in "Chez le Père Lathuille" (1880), no longer cutting them out like wooden forms against an unrelated setting, but by means of suffused light and atmosphere making them part of an out-of-door colour mosaic.

In "Printemps," signed and dated 1881, a background of shrubs treated with the looseness of pastel almost fills the canvas. A shadowy rhododendron rises above the mass and forms an open filigree against the della Robbia blue sky, a play of hues very close in value. Hat, parasol, flowered dress, and flesh tones practically of one value, make a delicate contrast. Virility is given the colour scheme by the dull black velvet ribbon decorating the hat and drawn into a bow beneath the chin. The picture is wholly simple and natural, but it is alive with the light and evanescence of out-of-door conditions. Qualities of drawing, modelling, by abbreviated touches, and simplification of form reveal the same hand as the early work, but this picture is separated from the "Woman with the Parrot" by a revolutionary change in the conception of colour and light.

"Un Bar aux Folies Bergère" (1882) is one of Manet's last works. The barmaid and the counter are seen direct front but the entire background is made up of reflections in a mirror which shows the long perspective of the crowds at the café tables and the brilliance of the lights, all interwoven to make a varied diaper of colour for the figure, herself as much a part of the pattern as if it were a tapestry.

Manet had profound belief in himself and the courage to stand alone and never to yield an inch. He was far from indifferent to opinion, but he had an almost childlike faith that people must come to see as he saw. He was a pioneer, and although his late work showed the reflex of new modes of observation to which he

had been brought by the Impressionists, he was magnificently the leader still, as we may see in comparing the work of his last years with contemporary canvases of the younger men. He died just as they were bringing to fruition their art, differing greatly from his in expression but profoundly indebted to the leadership that he had consistently maintained.

It is convenient at this point to speak of two painters not to be classified with any specific movement. Degas (1834–1917) was born six years earlier than Monet. He was never wholly in sympathy with Impressionism, although on one occasion he exhibited with the group and he is often included in it.

The teaching of Ingres had a permanent effect on his style. Early examples, as the portrait in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, show great delicacy of modelling and the highest refinement. Mature works bear no superficial resemblance to his early master, but the tradition of line is perpetuated in his art. His line dissected form, and in contrast to Ingres, "he seized the joints," Meier-Graefe says, "not the flesh." He was a student of the figure, choosing subjects from middle-class life and his unlovely types were subjected to unmerciful scrutiny. His most typical subjects were racing scenes and ballet dancers, physiques specialized for swift action under intense pressure. The difficult poses of horses and dancers were thoroughly mastered by means of clay studies. The mounted figures and sleek animals are somewhat academic in rendering, but in his later period movement is not only scientifically correct but the rhythm of a moment of transitions in continuous action is wonderfully rendered.

Scenes of the ballet occupied Degas especially after 1880, when pastel became his principal medium. He seemed to find a new soul with the new medium, and at this time his work showed brilliant colour effects (Pl. 84D).

Viewing a series of Degas's productions today we can fully agree with the remark of Meier-Graefe, "We live within the concept which Degas invented." It is more difficult to carry our minds back to the early eighteen-seventies and realize the novelty of such picture patterns at that time. Two elements in particular have been so completely assimilated in modern painting that it is easy to overlook them. These are the cutting off of the figures by the frame in a manner apparently altogether haphazard without reference to the narrative interest or the anatomical *structure*. The second is the extraordinary point of sight which throws the forms up the canvas as well as into it.

A new influence contributed to this type of design, that of Japanese prints, which between 1850 and 1875 began to be seen and studied by Manet and other French painters. If it had not been pointed out by the critics, this influence might easily be overlooked, as Degas's use of it was entirely free from imitative motives of any kind. Whatever was derived from the East was assimilated by him to the European tradition, as Meier-Graefe shows, but it led him further than any of his contemporaries in the subordination of subject-matter to the interest of shape relationship. Pictures in the seventies, as the "Races in Provence" and the "Pedicure," show cutting, spacing, and spotting of forms which might well have resulted from the study of Japanese prints. This influence helped him to bring out the maximum decorative pattern in groups and setting and even in physiognomies of crass vulgarity. "It corresponds to the full marking out of a musical motive" (Rankin).

Line remained always a foremost characteristic—a line essentially western, in which there is almost invariably the tautness that delineates, if not *human* ligaments, the ligaments of the pattern. It is a line wrought out by travail and almost always carries the suggestion of strenuous conquest. "The penetration he brings to bear upon our nakedness is a part of ourselves." His cynical eye detected shams and he delighted to show in all their unloveliness the creatures of the street in whom the audience hailed ideal beauty. He lets us know that the flower garden patterns traced by the groups of dancers are the result of extraordinary dislocations and their butterfly delicacy is sustained by a vigorous armature of structural forms in which the amazing mechanism of the "contorted" body is revealed.

Degas was interested also in photography and one can easily understand how these two influences might be combined in evolving the point of sight, the rhythms, and the area cutting which gave his work such novelty between 1870 and 1880 and which today give it such contemporaneity.

The cynicism of his work as well as its technical qualities had its influence on Toulouse-Lautrec. His unusual arrangements, integrity, and beauty of colour formed the basis of the art of Mary Cassatt, one of the most notable of the American figure painters.

Degas belongs to his century. The idiosyncrasies and peculiarities of his style, as Meier-Graefe shows, are qualities in which it becomes typical of the nineteenth century. In the case of Redon

(1840–1904) we are dealing with a mystic who in any age would be to some extent a "lifelong alien on the earth." His art fits into no category; it is, as Pach finely says, "the reverberation in the mind of an experience." He preserves his freedom from the objective world, although from it he derives his inspiration. He looks at a bouquet of flowers and invents an exquisite design with radial lines terminating in exotic blossoms hanging in air, like the ethereal figures traced by Japanese fireworks. By means of a human physiognomy he produces such a symbol of mysticism as the "Closed Eyes," one of the great expressions of the enigmatical in painting (Pl. 82B). "Apollo" and "Orpheus" are individual creations afire with the splendour of non-naturalistic colour. Whence and why did he come? Like other men of his type (Blake in England and Albert Ryder in America) he remains essentially independent of the world of sight.

Before considering French Impressionism which leads directly, whether by way of evolution or of reaction, to the modernist movement, it is necessary to digress for a moment in order briefly to outline the development of more conservative schools of painting in the nineteenth century.

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(*A*) Courbet. Burial at Ornans. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*B*) Courbet. Burial at Ornans (detail). (Giraudon)

(*C*) Courbet. Deer in the Wood. Louvre, Paris. (Alinari)

(*A*) Daumier. On a Bridge at Night. Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington. (Juley)

(*B*) Manet. Woman with a Parrot. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Puvis de Chavannes. St. Geneviève brings Bread to Paris. Panthéon, Paris. (N D Photo)

(*D*) Degas. Star Dancer. Luxembourg, Paris. (Giraudon)

CHAPTER XLI

CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY PAINTING

Classicism, Romanticism, Naturalism, Impressionism—these are the names by which the sequence of styles in French painting in the nineteenth century is classified. "Except for Delacroix, Ingres, and Courbet, who flourished so miraculously after the Revolution," Renoir says, "painting had fallen into the worst sort of banality. Every one was busy copying every one else and nature was lost in the shuffle."

Each one of the leaders named by Renoir was a point of departure for a group of imitators. Painters of the Orient inspired by Delacroix's example to seek for subjects in Morocco or Algeria, brought into French art of the period a gaiety of colour and effects of movement and light in pleasing contrasts to academic painting. No formal school developed from the teaching of Delacroix, although, as Meier-Graefe shows, his influence like that of Goethe reverberated throughout the century. For the imitators of Ingres technical perfection became an end in itself. Such a technique could be acquired by industrious application, and through popular teachers such as Gérôme it became the bulwark of academic training. This was based on an abstract classical ideal of beauty which bore little relation to nature and became more and more formalistic. It was strongly intrenched as the approved and accepted style. The realism of Courbet permeated the art of the late nineteenth century. Subjects from peasant life made a popular appeal from the combination of naturalism and sentimentality. Following the example of Courbet the figures were represented in full size in contrast to the small genre pictures of preceding periods. The war of 1870 stimulated interest in military subjects which often were executed with spirit and able craftsmanship. Figure painting and portraiture tended towards the same material excellence, and the atelier of Carolus Duran (1838–1919) sent out brilliant craftsmen to multiply works of an almost deceptive actuality. The large body of conservative painters formed in this way have modified their practice very slowly. Their aims were

easily understood by every one; their art recommended itself to the public, and their influence as teachers has been decisive.

Painters of exceptional quality were not altogether lacking. Fantin-Latour (1836–1904) created such beautiful portraits as that of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards (National Gallery) and that of Manet (Chicago), both distinguished canvases. In recent years Simon (1861–), by his bold and strong painting, has given a new vitality to scenes of everyday life. "The whole trend of modern art has been towards a free trade in motives and methods, the clearing house of which for all the world has been Paris" (Caffin). It is therefore unnecessary to dwell at length upon contemporary painting in other continental countries. England and America, however, may form an exception. The most individual development of nineteenth century art outside of France occurred in England. The classic revival was followed in England as elsewhere by a return in all the arts to medieval models. In architecture these were at first closely imitated but gradually a more living expression was given and about 1850 this developed into Victorian Gothic, of which the Parliament buildings are the most notable example.

At the same time the Oxford movement stimulated religious consciousness, and in painting, Watts (1817–1904) appeared as the great transcendental preacher. An ethical purpose dominated his art, and as the suffering and oppression of the industrial age weighed upon his conscience he endeavoured through allegorical painting to awaken the sense of justice. With so didactic an aim many of his canvases are moral tracts but others have a wide human appeal. Such pictures as "Love and Death" are addressed to all men who have struggled with the problems of existence. Watts had little systematic training; his style was based on the study of the Elgin marbles and on Venetian warmth of colour. He lacked sound draughtsmanship, but he expressed a genuine emotion, and such allegories as "Love and Death" are rendered pictorially, while "Love Triumphant" is a realized aspiration (Pl. 85B). His place in nineteenth century art is determined by these works, though as a painter his ability is better shown in the long series of portraits of Victorian poets and artists.

The formation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1849 and the publication of Ruskin's "Modern Painters" and "Stones of Venice" in the same decade afford an interesting comparison with the temper of France as shown in the Paris Salon of 1850 in which Courbet's "Burial of Ornans" heralded a new natural-

ism. By the English group religious and mystic tendencies were united with naturalistic rendering. The founders of the Brotherhood were Holman Hunt (1827–1910), Sir John Everett Millais (1829–1896), and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882). It was their avowed purpose to follow nature without deviation, and in calling themselves Pre-Raphaelites they meant to indicate, not the imitation of early Italian painters but an equal sincerity in the study of nature. Truth to nature was regarded as a moral obligation, and fact rather than appearance engrossed their attention. In this attitude they had the hearty support of Ruskin. In religious and historic subjects this led to an arid literalism. Holman Hunt showed unswerving adherence to these tenets. He painted religious allegories as well as historical pictures but always with archaeological accuracy. Ford Madox Brown (1821–1893), an older painter and a friend of the movement, was saved from such extreme meticulousness by a greater sense of proportion. He sacrificed detail for the sake of concentration. The sincerity and power of his style is well shown in "Christ Washing Peter's Feet," in the National Gallery. This is strong in every way. The religious sentiment is genuine and manly, the drawing firm, and the colour vigorous. If his work seems harsh it is a healthy fault. Millais, at first intent upon literary subjects, gradually drifted towards pure naturalism and is best represented by his portraits. At times, as in the "North-west Passage," he also created genre of a high order in which illustration is given real dignity.

The naturalistic aim of the Pre-Raphaelite painters has been somewhat obscured by the attention given to the work of Rossetti and to Burne-Jones (1833–1898), a later member of the group. Religious and poetic elements here predominate. Rossetti, an Italian and a Catholic, was steeped in literary tradition. His pictures are almost wholly confined to romantic subjects from Dante and the Arthurian legend given wide popularity by Tennyson's "Idylls of the King." He is preoccupied with the ideals of the Middle Ages or the imagery of a poet's world. Such pictures as the "Dream of Dante" are more satisfactory reproduced in the pages of a book than in their original form, for the Pre-Raphaelites are gifted illustrators but their sense for colour is defective. The combination of sensuousness and mysticism which characterizes Rossetti's work is well shown in the "Beata Beatrix" in which the sensuous qualities make a strong enough appeal to hold the spectator whether or not he comprehends other meanings (Pl. 85A). Rossetti's art has been described as Romanticism drunk with beauty,

while La Farge calls the Pre-Raphaelites "half philistines, half poets."

Burne-Jones' style is more attenuated and more enervated than that of Rossetti. Muther points out that the figures are generally inactive and inarticulate. In great dramatic crises it is the enigma of life which they contemplate so uncomprehendingly. This perhaps explains the fascination they exercised in the last years of the nineteenth century. The world he shows us is the world of adolescence; its conceptions, its romancing and dreams, its immature body, and its self-centred emotions. His world is unreal and his actors never have been in touch with human experience. Yet even so severe a critic as Meier-Graefe acknowledges that there is "unfailing rhythmic beauty in his figures," and often his grouping is rich and expressive, as in "Love among the Ruins." Perhaps the reason why we prefer such pictures in black and white reproduction is not wholly due to lack of successful colour but also to a quality of composition which Meier-Graefe analyses. Speaking of the Pre-Raphaelites he says, ". . . English painting . . . does not stand in space, but is stuck on the surface, giving the effect of a cross section taken at random, the depth of which the eye is expected to divine" (Pl. 85c).

The influence of the Pre-Raphaelite movement in its later phases was broadened by its alliance through William Morris with the decorative arts, a subject which in the late nineteenth century aroused greater general interest than did painting. In recent years Frank Brangwyn has given a purely decorative expression in painting to the narrative subject-matter for which the English have always shown a preference. Contemporary as well as legendary and religious subjects he interprets by the types and colours of the Orient. Their vibrant colour schemes and strong pattern suggest the Eastern carpets from which he derived inspiration. The execution of these wall-paintings is summary enough, but the power to express the underlying romance in what we generally consider the humdrum routine of modern manufacture and commerce introduces a new element into English painting.

In the latter years of the nineteenth century while this decorative development was taking place, easel painting gradually declined, and in contrast to its earlier solidarity a scattering of interest indicated a spirit of uneasiness. Some of the best work was produced by Scottish painters. The influence of Whistler is apparent especially in work of the Glasgow school to which several of the better known British painters belong.

In contrast to the refined "tonal" effects of the Scottish masters stands the painting of Orpen and John. The former is a naturalist whose work is characterized by a good sense for composition and by a high standard of craftsmanship. He handles paint with feeling for its intrinsic beauty. A typical example is the "Portrait of a Lady" (Chicago). The art of Augustus John is more varied. His figures are sometimes heroic in form and movement, sometimes uncouth and meagre (Pl. 85D). His splendid vitality is illustrated in the portrait of "Robin" and in the "Gitana" heads. He is sometimes bold and harsh, but again, particularly in his drawings, he shows delicate feeling. Modernist tendencies are shown in the work of a group of English painters and the theories of Modernism have been ably interpreted in the writings of Roger Fry.

The English tradition of the eighteenth century was in the early days of American painting the only avenue of cultural influence, and the first group of American artists properly have been discussed as a branch of the British school. After the Revolution and more especially after the War of 1812 the influence of England gradually declined, and such Americans as were able to acquire foreign training no longer sought London, but Düsseldorf, Munich, and Paris. At the same time interest in local surroundings led to the study of landscape and to the formation of the Hudson River school, composed of painters who had little training and were working practically without the guidance of a tradition. They had "from a common basis of inexperience to learn by painfully representing everything, what could with advantage be omitted" (Isham). These painters could not liberate themselves altogether from sentimental and theatrical effects. Their achievement was not important esthetically, but it registered a newly awakened national enthusiasm. Durand (1796–1886) and other members of the group laid the foundation for the study of landscape which later American painters have followed with distinction.

The next generation is represented by George Inness (1825–1894), Homer Martin (1836–1897), and Alexander Wyant (1836–1892). Of this trio Inness is the most significant. He realized the necessity of design and the value of the continental inheritance from which earlier Americans had been cut off. Documentation was no longer an aim. Inness studied reproductions of the old masters before his sojourn in Europe, and it was eventually to the Barbizon school that he turned for inspiration. Daingerfield says that he added the gift of colour to the Barbizon tradition. How widely his attitude differed from that of the

earlier American painters is illustrated in his reported conversations. "A work of art," he said, "does not appeal to the intellect, it does not appeal to the moral sense. Its aim is not to instruct, not to edify, but to awaken an emotion. Its real greatness consists in the quality and force of this emotion" (Isham). Through the particular scene and the passing moment he conveys the mood of nature and by the drama of colour and light deeply stirs the sense of beauty.

Two paintings in the Metropolitan Museum illustrate the broadening of his style between 1865 and 1875. In "Peace and Plenty," painted immediately after the Civil War, the panoramic scene is harmoniously designed and the great canvas is filled with light and air. The sinking sun hidden by the trees turns the distant haze to molten gold. As in paintings by Claude the eye is led through the canvas to this splendid source of light—from the golden stubble field and by way of the river it follows willingly, but once there it cannot rest, but uneasily travels back again and again to the harvested grain stacked in the foreground. This the painter has failed to fuse. His anxiety to record all these details irritates and exhausts the spectator. This can easily be tested by cutting off the foreground. The sense of well-being, the refreshment and relaxation that the painter desired to communicate immediately are experienced.

"Evening at Medfield" (Pl. 88A) is a less difficult problem and the artist met it successfully, treating large forms with the greatest simplicity. Inness used a technical method similar to that of the Barbizon painters. He varies the transparent underpainting by touches of local colour only where the lighting requires its use. Here he achieved complete unity. Beauty of texture, contour, atmosphere, and colour are held in equilibrium. We are ready to surrender ourselves to the poetic mood. Other paintings, as the beautiful "Autumn" (Providence), or examples in Chicago, may show a richer pattern or a more personal type of design, but Inness' ideal is adequately expressed in this canvas. No stronger master of landscape painting has appeared in the American school.

With the increase of wealth after the close of the Civil War a broader understanding of art was possible. European paintings were seen at the dealers or exhibited by private collectors and the earliest public museums were incorporated. The Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia (1876) gave further impetus. In the succeeding year the Society of American Artists was founded,

the membership consisting largely of students returning from European study. Admission to the society, as Caffin points out, was in the nature of a final graduation of the studentship abroad. The first president was John La Farge (1835–1910), an important personality in American life.

By education and travel La Farge acquired familiarity with both the European and Oriental traditions in art. His painting was deeply imbued with the ideals of the Italian Renaissance, but although thoroughly steeped in tradition he is singularly free from imitation. He might be called the first humanist among American painters, for to a capacity for the organization of the craft wholly novel in the American school he united discriminating critical faculties. His mellow and catholic attitude is illustrated in the "Considerations on Painting," a series of lectures delivered at the Metropolitan Museum in 1893. The decoration of Trinity Church, Boston (1876) is an example of his success in organizing a body of comparatively untrained assistants to carry out his ideas. This was the first large undertaking of the kind attempted in America, and it was accomplished in spite of most unfavourable conditions. The work of La Farge as a decorator and his experiments in colour as applied to stained glass have made a lasting impression upon American types of interior decoration.

The painting of the "Ascension" in the Church of the Ascension, New York, was the crowning work of La Farge as a religious painter. The figures are small for the large arched space. Slightly defined lines suggest a mountainous country. Studies for this background were made in Japan, and these surroundings are as great a source of pleasure as the figures themselves. The lines of the composition have real grandeur. Gesture is expressive; that of Christ is wholly natural and spontaneous, that of Mary exultant and yearning (Pl. 87c).

This is perhaps the best place to mention the general subject of American mural painting. At about the same time that La Farge completed the decorations of Trinity Church the first civic commission of importance was entrusted to William M. Hunt (1824–1879), a man trained in the atelier of Couture and a follower of Millet's simple broad painting. The subjects of which he made use, the "Flight of Night" and "Discovery," had been sketched many years earlier. The former shows a reminiscence of Delacroix and both indicate independence and freedom from routine methods. Unfortunately these works, which called out enthusiastic praise when they were first seen, were painted directly on the walls of the

Capitol at Albany. The flimsy construction of the building resulted a few years later in their complete destruction.

A third artist of this generation, Elihu Vedder (1836–1923) is best known in America by decorations in Bowdoin College and in the Library of Congress. These illustrate his individual linear style. His drawing of the figure is full of stateliness and strength, and his feeling for ornamental detail is thoroughly decorative. This last quality is one in which the majority of painters are weak. Vedder's outstanding work, however, is the series of illustrations for Omar Khayyám.

Preparations for the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 first necessitated extensive mural decorations. The urgency of the need was great and the group of painters hurriedly called together included only a few with requisite ability as decorators. Of these Blashfield (1848–) became the leading representative.

American mural painting as a whole suffers either from too strict an adherence to academic composition and symbolism or from too conscious an attempt at novelty. The absence of a tradition of decorative painting is everywhere evident. The Boston Library is a case in point, for here we may contrast the success of work executed by Puvis de Chavannes for a building he had never seen, with American wall paintings. Those of Abbey (1852–1911) are imaginative illustrations rather than mural decorations, and those of Sargent, although interesting in their original use of historic forms, are often obscure and difficult of comprehension through the eye alone. Within recent years Violet Oakley has executed in the Capitol at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a series of historic paintings in which beauty and dignity of interpretation are united with a fine feeling for design and colour.

In the late years of the nineteenth century it was inevitable that painters returning to America after years of study in the academies of Paris or Munich should find it difficult to adjust themselves to the ideals of a provincial community. In many cases their work remains exactly what it would have been had they stayed in Europe. We do not look for a strongly national school in this age; changes in transportation, and inventions which have drawn the ends of the world together, make this no longer conceivable, yet notwithstanding this world interchange, certain local idioms remain to distinguish national groups. In the art of Winslow Homer (1836–1910) and Thomas Eakins (1844–1916), this idiom is unmistakable. After some years devoted to illustration and to narrative subjects Homer found his

(*A*) Rossetti. Beata Beatrix. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (© Reinthal and Newman, New York)

(*B*) Watts. Love Triumphant. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Collyer)

(*C*) Burne-Jones. King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)

(*D*) John. Woman Smiling. National Gallery, Millbank, London. (Mansell)

(*A*) Manet. La Servante de Bocks. Collection of M. Auguste, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*B*) Mary Cassatt. Lady at the Tea Table. Metropolitan Museum. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Whistler. The Mother. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

undisputed field as painter of the sea. He belongs to the realistic movement of the nineteenth century; his own avowed intention was to reproduce effects exactly, but although he worked as an illustrator at the beginning of his career his sense of proportion guided him to find and to emphasize lines and forms which gave to human beings or to natural phenomena their enduring value. Technically his work has faults, as Cox shows, but these are insignificant in comparison with the virility and power shown in his treatment of the Maine coast which became his special theme. His work is an epic of the sea. The ostensible subject is only a means through which he expresses the immense forces of the ocean, its remorselessness, and the cubic content of its waters. These qualities are never forgotten even when all appears to be serene and smiling. And in the most turbulent scenes, on the other hand, the ebb and flow of the tides give an ordered rhythm (Pl. 88B).

In figure painting Eakins shows similar qualities. Like Winslow Homer he is a realist and like him he is often awkward in the handling of his tools, but in both cases technical criticisms are forgotten in the presence of an art so vitally real, expressing in its directness, sometimes even in its crudeness, the qualities of a pioneer race. Eakins's work is typically represented in the unprepossessing figure of the "Thinker" (Pl. 87A) in the Metropolitan Museum. He stands with bent head, his hands thrust deep in his pockets. In a dark suit his silhouette is unbroken against the light wall which is most graceless in execution and without the slightest beauty of tone. His suit, unpressed for weeks, makes jagged irregularities of contour. The picture lacks beauty of colour, form, and execution, but the force of the artist's mind intent upon creating a certain type—just this ungainly type—surmounts all difficulties. He has created his ideal; the subject *is* the thinker: such a thinker one is led to believe as was Lincoln. This is again an expression of the American spirit.

Other men seem to show little relation either of time or place to their surroundings. This is emphatically true in the case of Albert Ryder (1847–1917). He is so exotic that it would be hard to determine from his pictures either the nationality of the painter or the century in which he lived. He is more of a visionary than Delacroix, but he interpreted literary and romantic subjects with a similar intensity and he has been called the American romanticist. His paint is clumsily handled and his colour sombre, his small canvases are big and ungainly in drawing, but they are correspondingly expressive. Often they are sinister, like phantoms of the mind, as

his masterpiece, the "Flying Dutchman," in which a spectre ship rides high on a turbulent sea. A small boat is engulfed in the trough. Everything vibrates and rocks as the sun sinks in a golden haze, and long cloud shafts cut the space fantastically. Albert Ryder achieves his imaginative effects through a pattern of strange forms of tree, cloud, or human figure. Even in cases when the figures are ill-drawn and inadequate the dramatic atmosphere "carries" the action or thought successfully. The painter is indifferent to means and method, but this seems to add rather than detract from the expressiveness. His impatience suggests fecundity of idea.

At a period when the American style was dominated by artists of foreign training, shortly after 1876, the work of a forgotten painter began to reappear, that of George Fuller (1822–1884). His early career had been interrupted but, working in isolation on his farm, he matured an art which without technical facility is set apart from other American paintings by sensitiveness and beauty of tone. He is neither heroic like Millet nor realistic and sentimental like Jules Breton, but from long familiarity and quiet meditation the scenes he represents acquire a ripeness rare in modern work. They have the poetry, evanescence, and tenderness of Indian summer. Fuller's pictures were not intended for public exhibition—they are soliloquies often intimate and moving.

A certain number of Americans trained in the European schools remained abroad permanently. Of these Whistler (1834–1903) and Sargent (1856–1925) are the most prominent. Both are cosmopolitan and are claimed as British painters with some justice. From the evidence of his art it would be difficult to place Whistler. He felt all the influences of his day and as an artist he was without a country. Meier-Graefe discusses him under four titles, as Englishman, Frenchman, Japanese, and Spaniard, but remarks that in this very mingling of many diverse strains he may be considered representative of America.

In his work as an etcher, and in sketches and brief notations of effects, his art exhibits a diversity lacking in the finished paintings where one is always conscious of the sacrifices made in his desire for a felicitous "arrangement." It would be difficult to name another painter in whom the self-conscious element is so strong. He might be called an ascetic in the field of esthetics, so drastically does he narrow the means of expression which he permits himself. Fusing the lessons he learned from Velazquez with those from the Orient he regards pattern as an end in itself. He would prefer,

as Cox shows, to call his masterpiece "An Arrangement," rather than the "Mother" which in spite of his theories he really achieved. In order that the eye may take its full delight in exquisite masses he presents his figures and groups in contrasting tones uninterrupted by the play of light and shade as in "Miss Alexander." Even where figures are lost in the obscurity of a dark room the light values of face and hand are shown as areas of colour, not illuminated shapes suggesting plastic reality. He was sometimes less indifferent to the significance of the human element. "At the Piano," one of his early paintings, very lovely in design, has also an element of Victorian sentiment. The "Mother," severe in its space relations, and highly refined in tone, is also drawn with a true portrait quality (Pl. 86c). The face in low relief is very sure in modelling and the tender touch on the lace about the face and hands carries a suggestion of deference which adds a more personal sentiment than that generally attaching to Whistler's portraits. Often his figures are silent bodiless apparitions of the impalpable texture of dreams.

Whistler was the first artist to see the pictorial possibilities of London. While the French Impressionists painted haycocks as the stage for the drama of sunlight and shadow, Whistler painted the banks of the Thames vaguely emerging from the mists of twilight, and in both instances it was the atmospheric conditions, not the concrete objects, that they studied. Many of these Symphonies consist in a delicate equilibrium of space and tone relation, and every nuance is the result of conscious calculation. At times the tones, serene and lucent, are poignant with tremulous beauty. Whistler's art is highly specialized, in its own way it is unexcelled; one penetrating and sustained note was held indefinitely. He was a specialist in so narrow a sphere that he can in no sense be compared to the greatest masters to whom every aspect of life carried inspiration. Like so many men of his generation life was endurable only within certain narrow limits. Only among the élite did one venture to open one's eyes fully. The influence of Whistler was widely felt both in Europe and in America.

To this recondite art addressed to the initiate, the painting of Sargent (1856–1925) offers a complete contrast. Here there is no mystification, the method is realistic, the technique that of a virtuoso. Sargent is the most brilliant exponent of French teaching, which he received in the atelier of Carolus Duran. Whatever falls under his observation Sargent can paint, and his versatility is notable in an age of narrow specialization. As a figure painter he is portraitist and decorator, his genre scenes are often

charming in light and colour, and his technical mastery of water-colour is unexcelled if not unequalled. It is, however, as a portrait painter that he is best known.

Sargent is a realist in the sense that Roman portrait sculptors were realists. Observing the characteristics of his model he exaggerates those traits which mark the idiosyncrasy of the individual so that the interest and sense of divination of the spectator are correspondingly gratified. The painter is willing to make whatever sacrifice this entails. In the portrait of "Mr. Marquand" he uses a white chair which from the decorative standpoint is unpleasing. By its use, however, he makes us realize the character of the lean body in perfect accord with head and hand. The sharp nervous movement characteristic of Chase is expressed by the way in which he breaks through the surrounding envelope of tone, advancing brush in hand to add a final touch to his painting. The portrait of "Madame X" acquires a new interest when we are told by those who knew her that she was admired for the swiftness of her movement "like that of a greyhound" (Pl. 87B). This explains the pose suggesting a momentary pause, the sharp turn of the head with the accentuation of the pointed features, even the position of the right arm which helps in this characterization. Sargent himself regarded this picture as one of his best productions. As with Fans Hals, it is people as their neighbours know them, or would like to know them, that he chooses to show, and this gives his work unfailing interest. To look through a portfolio of his portraits is like reading a volume of Thackeray.

In certain early portraits, notably in that of "Mr. and Mrs. Field," the painter has touched a deeper chord. This is perhaps the most exquisite rendering of unity in marriage in the range of painting. It typifies the ideals of the late Victorian period and it is delineated with unqualified sympathy. Under other circumstances Sargent is equally successful in employing the social mask under which personality, or the lack of it, is concealed. This is often as interesting an analysis as any other. Sargent recorded the wealthy and fashionable society of his day much as Frans Hals recorded the sturdy defenders of the Dutch Republic. Both read physiognomy as an open book; neither had the curiosity or indiscretion to reveal secret chambers in the lives of their clients. In a dilemma Hals sacrificed characterization to decorative beauty, while Sargent drastically cut away whatever weakened the likeness which he sometimes pushed perilously near to caricature.

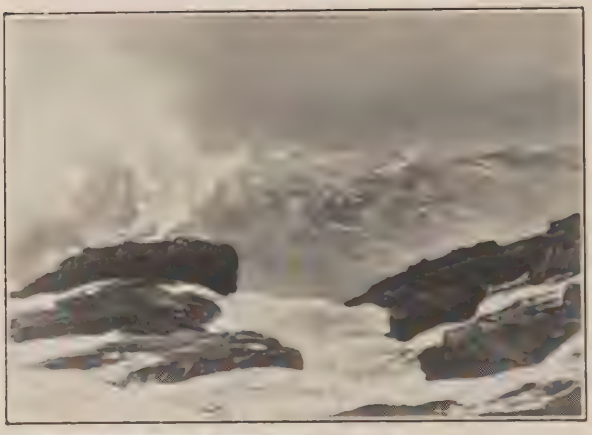
The amazing technical virtuosity which amounted in some

(*A*) Eakins. The Thinker. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*B*) Sargent Portrait of Mme. X. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) La Farge. The Ascension. Church of the Ascension, New York. (Curtis and Cameron)

(*A*) Inness. Evening at Medfield. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)



(*B*) Homer. Maine Coast. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Monet. Branch of the Seine near Giverny. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Museum of Fine Arts)

instances almost to wizardry of brush work no follower of Sargent's has equalled. The problem of the portrait painter as Cecilia Beaux has described it presents difficulties surmountable only by the most gifted. The necessity is obvious of creating and preserving the rapport between painter and model, and at the same time that the artist acts as host he must function as judicial critic. To draw out the self-revealing gesture or fleeting expression, to retain it so vividly in the mind that it outlives hours of uninspired posing, and to translate "what was so fugitive" into touches of the brush—this is the problem of the portrait painter. Cecilia Beaux in her best work, such as "Ernesta," has given an illustration of the fresh spontaneity which may result even under such difficulties. American youth is epitomized in this vivacious portrait.

Sargent died in 1925 and during his long activity several generations of painters have practised their art in America. Of the men of his age Duveneck, Chase, and Alexander are perhaps the most notable—Duveneck (1848–1919), always the Old Master; Chase (1849–1916), allowing himself to become popular and casual, so that we hardly recognized in his late paintings the author of the "Lady with the White Shawl"; Alexander (1856–1915), using the figure as a point of departure for a purely decorative style.

Other American painters reflected the insurgent movement in France, notably Mary Cassatt (1845–1926), probably the most distinguished figure painter of the American school. In integrity of draughtsmanship, originality of design, and beauty of colour she has given a personal expression to the lessons derived from Manet and Degas. She specialized in the subject of mother and child; and while seldom to be described as beautiful, the children have the charm of unblemished skin, unconscious grace, and spontaneous movement. Her instinct for character study is inimitably shown in the "Lady at the Tea Table" in the Metropolitan Museum. Not only New England is typified, but a special locality and a definite ancestry leading far beyond the Mayflower. It is full of the flavour of a past generation. The values are all of delicate hue, but the form is perfectly realized. Expecially beautiful is the soft delicacy of the fine thin skin. The tone is cool, playing up to the Canton tea-set. Behind the head a gold frame focusses in a definite colour note the gilded ornaments of the china (Pl. 86B).

During the last quarter of the century American landscape painters adopted the light colouration of the French Impressionists. Theodore Robinson (1852–1896) was a direct pupil of Monet.

Twachtman, Weir, and Childe Hassam form a representative group. Twachtman (1853–1902) reached Monet by way of Munich, and his work was never without the sense of solidity. His composition is distinguished by fine design, no matter how evanescent and light in key. The poetic content is strong. Caffin says that Twachtman's work "represents the effort of the artist to free himself from the encumbrance of the material by giving expression to the spirit that abides in matter." To an extent this is also true of Weir (1852–1919). The mellow beauty of New England in saturating sunlight acquires a stately cadence like that of poetry, the blue atmosphere sifts through all the colours and binds them together, as in the halcyon midday of "Ploughing for Buckwheat." Childe Hassam (1859–) more closely follows the technical practice of the French Impressionists.

The number of painters exhibiting since 1876 is so great that a mention of names is impossible. Certain tendencies subdivide the main groups of painters of portraits, figure, landscape, and genre, but a prolonged discussion is unnecessary. As a whole, American painting is still a reflection of European styles, and it is characterized in common with that of every other school of the day by a predominance of well-trained technicians accepting not only the practice of older generations but viewing the world about them very much in the same way. Portraits, agreeable figure arrangements with accessories of mirror or still life, pleasant people in surroundings of faultless taste, leave the spectator emotionally very much where they found him. Among the landscapists a group of men still live in the memory of earlier landscape art. They harmonize and design themes provided by our wide country in a delicate and frugal spirit, or play such haunting airs from other climes as those of Davies (1862–). On the other hand, there are painters of a coarser, more virile strain, who with loaded brushes "attack" the actual world at their doors or delineate the features of man, woman, and child in the spirit of Frans Hals. Among the latter, expression has heen given to typical scenes such as the fencing bouts which today take the place of Cain and Abel, but these fall short both of Tintoretto and of Daumier, powerful as they undoubtedly are. Sloan (1871–), Henri (1865–), and Bellows (1882–1925), are the leading personalities in this group. Other painters have found new types of design in the crowded thoroughfares of lower New York (Jerome Myers), or from the intoxicating brilliance of our atmosphere have caught novel suggestions for colour schemes (Maurice Prendergast).

Still we are without a really great art. The painters whose tendencies are realistic and who gain strength from dealing with familiar aspects of life are too often lacking in design; those who charm by poetic qualities are too attenuated and remote. We have still to wait for the man big enough to interpret the spirit of his day in the terms of pure design. "The tendency of vulgar modern taste is to exact from artists a naturalism destructive of imaginative and expressive value altogether. It is this tendency which explains the notorious inferiority of the modern European and American average conservative design as compared to that of any previous standard historic school or to Oriental design" (Rankin).

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CHAPTER XLII

FRENCH IMPRESSIONISM

The preceding chapter has to some extent anticipated the modern movements in French art to which we must now return. The phenomena of light and colour which preoccupied the generation of French painters maturing about 1870, had already attracted the attention of Delacroix, who in his "Journal" comments upon the complementary colours which he observed in studying effects of sunlight.

It had been Manet's habit to invade shadow areas with colour, a practice at variance with the classicist, for whom shadow was the negation of colour. Manet's practice met strong opposition from those who realized the revolutionary possibilities involved. Intercourse between Manet and the younger generation had been intimate in the years preceding the war of 1870. Similar revolutionary aims drew them together and they shared a common persecution. Claude Monet's letters give a vivid picture of the life in Paris and the gossip of the ateliers in the decade before the war.

The old life was broken up in 1870 and during the siege of Paris several of the painters found their way to England. Once more English painting became an inspiration to the Frenchmen. The names of Crome, Constable, and Turner are mentioned in a letter by Pissarro as painters who exercised an important influence on his generation.

Among the artists devoting themselves to the study of landscape, Pissarro, Sisley, and Monet were the leaders. Pissarro (1830–1903) was one of the strongest and most influential, and Sisley's (1839–1899) art is touched with a fine poetry, but the special contribution made by the landscape group is most easily comprehended in the work of Monet (1840–1926).

They were called Impressionists first in derision; the name could not be shaken off and was finally accepted. The theory upon which the Impressionists worked has been clearly stated by Hourticq. Science shows that white light is composed of the spectrum colours. "The more or less conscious method of the Im-

pressionists," Hourticq says, "consists in replacing that light, the splendour of which the painter cannot directly reproduce, by its constituent colours, the equivalents of which he has on his palette. He uses pure colour as far as possible . . . but these colours cannot reproduce light unless they are combined, like the colours of the prism. The Impressionist painter leaves this process to the spectator: the eye reverses the process of the prism; it recomposes what the painter has decomposed."

Among the earlier landscape painters, the transitional stages from grey to broken colour may be traced in the work of Jongkind (1819–1891) and Boudin (1824–1898). Jongkind was of Dutch origin but he was essentially a French colourist and was among the first to study the decomposition of white light. It is easy to follow the stages in the work of these men. We see the silvery tones of Corot gradually break into opalescent hues in Jongkind, and before the mass of his trees, a mist blows in and the glancing and shimmering of atmosphere fills our eyes and seems actually to touch our flesh until we almost forget the forms in the picture because the emphasis has passed so completely from form to coloured light.

In banishing from their palette the "gravy" colours of the older painters and in substituting pigments approximating the hues of the spectrum, their aim was to secure a nearer approach to light. Naturalistic effects were approximated by the use of complementary colours. The warm light of the sun cast shadows of violet; the rose hues of the flesh took complementary notes of a slightly green shade. Colour bore a more logical relationship to light than ever before. At the same time a new technical method came into use. At close range the surface of these paintings is confusing. Only as one moves away do the loose touches disappear and the tones integrate and become intelligible symbols of form.

Monet may be taken as the typical painter of the group. Boudin had early counselled him to paint out-of-doors. The exhibition of Manet's work in 1863 led him to the study of light. Except for a few years spent in Paris, he lived always in the country and devoted himself to the study of landscape. He sought his subject in full sunlight. His early work was finished at a sitting, but later he took much time, always painting on the spot but returning to a canvas again and again when the light was the same.

Duret says, "The framework of the scene is delineated on his canvas simply for the purpose of investing it with that fleeting charm, that particular envelopment of atmosphere, which he

seized and noted as an ephemeral effect in the brief moment of its duration." His art became a barometer.

This is well illustrated in the "View of Vétheuil" (William C. Osborn Collection). A French stucco town dominated by a Romanesque church is seen across the river with a sloping hill at the right and a group of tall poplars at the left. The sky, serene cerulean blue, is flecked with a loose pattern of clouds which meet and re-form as one watches them. The little hill with a growth of small trees, the verdant grass at the water's edge, the blue-green bushes and shelving bank of the near foreground, keep their places perfectly—form, contour, and colour are held in balance. The water moves just enough to interlace the reflected forms. It is fluid but it exists perfectly. It is wet to the eye, wet surely to the touch! A tiny boat in mid-stream accentuates the shimmering light all about it.

Again Monet represents the even more fleeting lights of a cloudy day in the same vicinity, Seine at Vétheuil (1890). This is painted on a toned canvas. The sky is dappled. At the moment the sun is obscured, but when it comes out, all sorts of cloud shadows will chase each other over the farther bank, which is now a-shimmer with blues and greys answering to the vaporous low scurrying clouds. In the river these same tones appear held together by the horizontal hatchings of the surface. The strong emerald of the marsh weeds at the left sweeps forward to our very feet and against the evanescent colour of the distance creates an effect best compared to a stereopticon view, where the reality of the near-by objects is almost startling.

With the exception of Turner, intensities had previously played little part in landscape. This modern school suddenly transformed nature from a noble pattern of contrasting values to a play of colours neutralized by the use of complementaries and enhanced by areas of intense colour only remotely dependent upon a scheme of light and dark. Monet's method of laying on the pigment is shown in the "Valley of the Nervia" (Estate of Theodore M. Davis). At a distance of fifteen feet, we can follow the contour of sunlit snow against the mellow but pale winter sky. Examined at close range, the sky appears to be an interlace of broad brush strokes of delicate blue, rose, and yellow. Against it rises the mountain painted in pale gold (corn colour) with strokes of cobalt to indicate the rising and falling contours. The middle distance is made up of touches of blue—now long, sliding lines, now strong, short strokes, seemingly placed at random. The nearer middle

distance is an interplay of rose and green (again complementaries) closely related in value and intensity; a few clustered touches of pale ochre resolve at a distance into a town fitting into the curve of the hills, barren except for evergreen growth but warm in the glow of the sunlight. The foreground is not wholly intelligible in form but is absolutely solid to the foot because correctly registered as colour value.

"Light volatilizes design" (Wright), and in the pursuit of this special theme the painter tended to become indifferent to other aspects of composition such as form and pattern. Cézanne expressed this when he said, "Monet is an eye." He added, however, "but what an eye!" It had become sensitive to the most subtle variations of light and the step which Monet took in 1890 was a logical one. In order to register with extreme exactness the changes in the quality of light under different atmospheric conditions, he painted a series of studies of the same view at different hours of the day, in some cases rendering the subject as many as twenty times. The most familiar are the "Haystacks" and the "Façade of Rouen Cathedral." Duret writes, "I have heard Monet say that the labour of painting Rouen Cathedral under the varied effects of light demanded such intense application of mind that he became utterly exhausted. He ended by losing a clear perception of things and was obliged to rest."

The example of this subject belonging to the Davis estate is signed and dated 1894. Scarcely an inch of foreground is shown, and only so much sky as appears between the cathedral towers, so that practically the whole field is filled with the one plane of the façade, its recessed openings affording the darkest notes of colour. In spite of the ornate style of the architecture, not one detail has been drawn as form: the whole has been metamorphosed—and yet we know the style and we feel the solidity. In the deep portals the reflected gold of all the surrounding sunlight warms the half perceived detail. The shadow about the rose-window is more dense; blue with a kind of aura of mahogany to warm it. Over the face of the cathedral, at the right, the violet shadow of an adjoining tower is cast. Beyond and above is intense zenith sky, against which the contour of the building pulsates in the heat. Monet here reaches the goal of Impressionist painting: not only to represent light but to re-create its blinding brilliance. His intoxication with the world of colour and light is contagious.

He says, "I have seen this beautiful and melting colour, this opalescence, the emerald brilliance of the marsh grass," and we

go to nature to see if he has told the truth. Perhaps, after long effort, in some brief moment after rain, *we* suddenly *see*, too, and know that he was right. For the moment colour is all we want. We are absorbed in the interplay of "light from sky to sun-bathed world" (Pl. 88c).

What is to be the final estimate of such landscape painting? Impressionism as a movement gained by the intensity of its concentration but lost in breadth of appeal. The intellectual element is lacking. Not only are knowledge of pigmentation and freshness of eye required but the artist must make a complete self-surrender to sensation and must have a passionate belief in the momentous difference between ten o'clock and eleven o'clock. All truths are submerged for the sake of the perfect moment. In spite of the fact that the Impressionists could render that difference and register delicate fluctuations of light never attempted before, the limitation to sense reaction resulted in greater monotony and sameness in their landscapes than in a group of Barbizon painting, where the individual element is stronger, the form more classic, and the intellectual content richer. There are moments when ten o'clock fits the human need completely, but there are more moments when not the peculiar but the typical, not the evanescent but the permanent, not the sensuous but the poetic, is the message we crave.

Among the members of the Impressionist group, but less exclusively occupied with the problems of landscape painting, was Renoir (1841–1919), who in work executed about 1880 brought Impressionism to a consummate expression. His working out of the problems differed, however, especially in his last years, from that of the men already discussed. His art underwent many changes from first to last although it is hard to believe his own statement that his early canvases passed for those of Rousseau.

His use of bitumen was soon given up and pictures painted in the seventies are delicate and cool in colour. The execution shows the influence of Manet. By the end of the decade his tones grow warmer and he shows a continuously progressive mastery of the theme he loved best—that of flesh answering to the throbbing light of out-of-doors. His delight in beauty, the beauty of flowers and fruits indoors, of everything in nature, his passionate desire to achieve loveliness in his own work, never weakened in his final years of suffering and physical dependence. The gaiety of his art was allied to the eighteenth century, which he so greatly admired, and he was not afraid to employ the pretty or voluptuous types which appear rarely in nineteenth century painting. His

(*A*) Cézanne. The Blue Vase. Louvre, Paris. (V Photo)

(*B*) Renoir. Young Girls at the Piano. Luxembourg, Paris. (X Photo)

(*C*) Renoir. Le Moulin de la Galette. Luxembourg, Paris. (A G Photo)

(*A*) Cézanne. Landscape. Luxembourg, Paris. (Ollivier)

(*B*) Cézanne. The Card Players. Barnes Foundation. Merion, Pa. (Chappell)

(*A*) Cézanne. La Montagne Sainte Victoire. Phillips Memorial Gallery, Washington. (Juley)

(*B*) Puvis de Chavannes. The Sacred Wood. Museum, Lyons.

(*C*) Poussin. The Blind Orion searching for the Sunrise. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*A*) Manet. Olympia. [illegible]. (Giraudon)

(*B*) Renoir. Mme. Charpentier and her Children. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (Metropolitan Museum)

(*C*) Renoir. The Bathers. Barnes Foundation. Merion, Pa. (Chappell)

first period, in which most critics feel an affinity for Velazquez, is typically illustrated in the broadly painted nude with hands above her head in the Barnes Collection. The pallor of colour is noticeable; the simplicity and dignity of the painting and the pleasing arrangement within the field give the picture great charm.

His work as a pure Impressionist may be illustrated in numerous examples executed in the late seventies and the eighties. "Le Moulin de la Galette" 1877 (Pl. 89C) is typical. It can be understood only in the gallery, for it is entirely an interpretation through colour. The cold tone of his early work has melted before the sunlight that forms the main theme at this time. The very quiver of the atmosphere is realized here. Vacillating polka dots of light filter and play and pulsate through it all. Somehow it is liberating. We experience for a moment oneness with all sentient life. It is the dance of Siva.

In the "Luncheon of the Boatmen at Bougival" (1881; Phillips Collection), the diffused out-of-door light slips and slides over all. The shifting of life gives actuality to the scene. It seems almost as if voices could be heard. The way in which individual figures take their place in the rhythm made by movement, light, and colour is essentially identical with Rubens' methods. (Compare his "Kermis" with Renoir's paintings of the eighties.) One notes the virility of the pearly flesh tones, the lips of pure vermilion, the jewel-like variety of the still life—partly drained glasses with rubies and turquoises sparkling in their depths—held in reserve so that they are discovered only when one's eye has noted the more important elements of the composition, but playing their part in this song of colour and magic.

At about this time Renoir executed the portrait of "Madame Charpentier and her Children" (Pl. 92B) and the lovely painting of the "Nurse and Baby" (Madame Renoir?), belonging to the Barnes Foundation. It seems absurd to attempt to *say* anything about such painting as Renoir's, or that of many of his contemporaries. The expression these men used is more untranslatable into the medium of words than that of any preceding period. All that can be done in the absence of the original is to insist upon the unique experience in the presence of the painting and the travesty of any form of reproduction.

"Young Girls at the Piano" (Pl. 89B) bears not the slightest resemblance to the reproduction. The key is light, close to the value of the gold frame. One pearly tone follows another—nile green and old rose, white, plum, and blue, culminating in the

freshness and youth of the rose-leaf heads! It is like an opal. What an ordinary middle class dwelling and how beautiful as he sees it! He has freed himself from the material prison-house.

In the torso of a "Young Woman in the Sunlight" (Luxembourg), the transparency of the skin is like the petal of a flower and the play of cool reflections like light on water. The effects in these and many other of his canvases at this time are the most purely beautiful that Impressionism has achieved. He almost makes Manet seem static and Monet dull toned. Ruskin alone has given a comparable hymn to the light: "breathing animated, exulting light . . . which chooses one thing, and rejects another—which seeks and finds, and loses again . . . glowing, or flashing, or scintillating, according to what it strikes. . . . It is the *living* light, which *breathes*, in its deepest, most entranced rest, which sleeps, but never dies."

Renoir is a sensitive instrument responding instinctively to colour, light, heat, and feminine beauty. His is the sense response and the sense appeal. His paintings are so infatuating that the delight of the eye in light, in kaleidoscopic movement, in high, pure notes of colour, intoxicates. The quality he perceives, the special lighting, of rain or sun, the astounding penetration to beauty in stuffy middle class interiors and in commonplace types, is almost incredible.

But Renoir was always pushing on to new experiments and by 1900 his work had passed to another stage. His forms become more ponderous, the relative proportions of the body no longer conform to actual fact, and the colour functions less as a sensuous representative element and more as an organic one. The colour in these late works becomes very hot and the silvery sheen that plays over the flesh in the preceding examples is sacrificed. In the middle period the feeling of distinct planes of distance is firmly held and the play of light is a superficial pattern. In the late period this seems no longer to concern him. He is indifferent to the representative character. Technical manipulation as well as colour is employed to create rhythmical relationships which are abstract, not representative, in their intention. "A new and original plastic form . . . is created" (Barnes).

An important illustration is the "Bathers" (Pl. 92c). It has not the scintillating brilliance of his earlier paintings nor those orderly progressions that form a large design over which the sunlight makes an inscription like that of Mohammedan orna-

ment. Finer and more intricate intervals are employed; the whole grows more complex in its interrelations and rhythms; the eye must be re-educated, to a new type of design. To those for whom this adaptation of the eye has not progressed to full acquiescence Renoir seems to have touched his highest point in the earlier period, but he could not stop there, for he was constituted for experiment, adventure, daring. He went on. He improvised in landscape and in human forms, and those who best comprehend the goal and meaning of the modern movement find Renoir's final canvases his greatest ones. Mr. Pach speaks of the concentration in his late work on design and colour "from which the dross of materialism has been burned out in the fire of one of the world's greatest geniuses."

This crippled old man, whose brush was at the last fitted into his paralysed hand, never faltered in devotion or ardour and to the end it was the song of youth and joy that he sang. Mr. Pach quotes Faure as saying, "I have seen two miracles—the battle of the Marne and the aged Renoir painting."

A very different aspect of Impressionism is illustrated in the work of Cézanne (1839–1906). Although born a year earlier than Monet, we think of him as belonging to a later generation than the Impressionists. He was at first associated with them and his work appeared in their exhibition of 1874. But Cézanne was not satisfied with so unintellectual an art. He employed light colouration in early works but in a manner calculated to emphasize plastic realities which the Impressionists minimized. The "Poor House" (Louvre) shows that his mind is more occupied with the plastic extension of the forms shown in the clear light than with that light itself. And the investigations which constitute his important contribution to modern art occupied the last years of his life, so that in a sense we are right in regarding him as later than the "men of 1870."

Monet had said that he wished to paint as the bird flies. Forgetting those things which were behind, he offered himself each day like virgin soil for the fructifying play of sunlight. His work was immediate, sensuous, unreflective. His bit of nature existed for and by itself—emphasis on the organic rhythms was lacking. "Monet was thus the Impressionist incarnate." But the veil of atmosphere which made images appear to interpenetrate was too impalpable for Cézanne; he felt the structural aspect of nature and this took him back, as it had taken others, to the geometry of form. It was in order to connect painting once more with such forms that

Cézanne was led to his investigation of the bases of design. He recognized a necessity to return to the fundamental elements which had always been used by the greatest masters. He wished to express them, however, by the new technical means, now more flexible than heretofore. This search and this preoccupation give to his finest works a dignity and a sense of something large and impenetrable behind phenomenal form. This is indescribable but one feels it even in examples that from one or another standpoint are unsatisfactory. He attempted to use colour as his plastic medium as earlier men had used chiaroscuro. It was his theory that "when colour has its maximum richness, form has its plenitude" (Lawton).

The "Ste. Victoire" in the Phillips Collection, Washington (Pl. 91A), hangs on a wall with Renoir and Sisley. No text-book is needed to convince an observer that a different aim inspires Cézanne's studies. The clear, pure patchwork of the blue-green fields and the stately mass of the mountain are not made secondary to the accident of lighting. It is not the superficial impression that it makes on the painter or the public that matters to him but the qualities which are intrinsic in the thing itself. He is endeavouring to free himself from the accidents of time and space and it is more than the contour lines of the mountain that carries our minds back to oriental landscape.

Cézanne is solemn and ponderous (Pl. 90A). He registers the atmosphere of the individual day exactly. "Summer looks like this," he says, "Southern France looks like this. If you observe you will see that it could not be otherwise." His statement is definitive; and yet he is not interested in transient aspects—if nature looks like this, it has looked so before and will again. His intelligence grapples with the problem of form and substance; he is dogmatic and doctrinaire. Even if his execution is summary and his lack of regard for the conventionally beautiful or interesting somewhat disconcerting at first, such landscapes offer no real difficulty. But Cézanne took other steps which are more difficult to follow.

In his numerous arrangements of still life and fruits we are often disturbed by the incorrect line of the table. Incorrect, that is, measured by our conventional perspective. For we demand of the painter that he shall conform to a system already established. He asserts his independence as a *creator*—neither carpenter nor theorist is to control the line of his table, which *is* no longer primarily a table line but a functional part of the rhythm which he

has created as the musician creates, in conformity with fundamental laws of design.

In the earlier schools, still life was painted because the representation of the objects chosen afforded special opportunities for colour and texture painting. It is evident that Cézanne was not concerned with the imitative function of painting. By means of his table, his fruits, his vases, he is contacting dynamic principles which are no less operative here than in mountain and plain. The impression made by certain of these canvases can be explained in no other way. No description, no words, no reasoning account for the effect of the "Blue Vase" in the Camondo Collection. The subject is ordinary, the result supremely moving. And the final flower and fruit motives bring us similarly into contact with fundamental rhythms inherent in space and colour relationships (Pl. 89A).

Likewise, in his figure designs, often representing the most unprepossessing types—as the "Card Players" or the "Sailor"—we learn by persistent effort what is meant by those critics who compare him with Beethoven and with Michelangelo. Sometimes, as in the "Card Players" of the Barnes Collection, the beauty of the colour relates the painting to the wall much as a primitive fresco is related. Here the colours are mellow and decorative, Copenhagen blue, clair de lune, greys, and old gold (Pl. 90B).

Cézanne laboured unceasingly, but he cared so little for the canvases upon which his experiments were recorded that he left them about in the fields or used them to scrub the floor. What would he say to find them on our museum walls? He considered them inconclusive and inadequate statements; he himself said he would always remain the primitive of the method he advocated. His pictures are like the geometric statement of a problem, solved in the *mind* but stated in formula for the sake of other minds. There is something inevitable about his art that comes from an intellectual compulsion which takes no account of the question of the agreeable. His work is intense but he never lets himself go in answer to sensuous appeal; his psychic impulses are controlled by the mind. It is the mind which often makes his simplest things so heroic. So that although Cézanne began in the Impressionistic camp, as a mature painter he is the defender not of spontaneous impulse, but of severe logic, the influence of which has changed the direction of effort for the succeeding generation.

CHAPTER XLIII

SINCE CÉZANNE

Cézanne had recognized that what he believed to be the essential in painting he had not attained even in his own work. "I have not realized, and I shall never realize," he said. Those who failed to understand the implications of his art condemned it for its divergence from accepted canons, but if Cézanne branched off from the beaten path and found new modes of expression to replace those that through conventional usage had lost their savour, his inspiration was still nature—intimate everyday nature—which we sometimes condemn in his work for its very homeliness. He had made use of distortions with the greatest reluctance in the hope of creating something more genuinely moving than that which the phenomenal world suggests to the passer-by, and it is by the intensity of his emotion that commonplaces are raised to the plane of reality.

A new art was predicated in his work and he was the cornerstone, but to build securely on that foundation required an equal consecration to this "terrible vocation of a painter." His followers who may be grouped under the general title of Post Impressionists have in rare instances displayed a similar singleness of purpose, but as yet no artist since Cézanne has shown an equal breadth of mind.

French art has always drawn inspiration from earlier golden ages: from the Italian Renaissance, from Greece and Rome, and in Manet's day, from Spain and Holland. Meier-Graefe says that Degas' work owed a similar debt to the art of Japan. But in his case for the first time inspiration was drawn from a popular craft, block printing. Perhaps this was a first sign of the revolt from "civilization and culture" which eventually turned the attention of the artistic world with an exaggerated admiration to the arts of savage and primitive peoples.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Negro sculpture began to excite deep interest in the younger generation. Exhibitions shown in Paris included figures of gods or demons, embodying elemental religious concepts and grotesque masks charged with magic properties. Savage, sensual, and repulsive as some of

them may be they show a primal force because the inspiration is direct and the idea given objective form solely because it is believed to have potency. Even before this exhibition, however, the craving for fresh stimulus had taken such violent hold on the imagination of one artist, Gauguin, that it led to his life in the South Sea Islands.

Gauguin (1851–1903) had Peruvian Indian blood and he reverted to type. After an adventurous youth he had married and settled in Paris and had become a successful banker, but suddenly he found normal life insupportable. Breaking all ties he made his escape to the South Sea Islands. The letters in which he records the suffering of those tragic years are shot through with the inextinguishable flame of his creative passion. He achieved what to his mind was the one essential—freedom and independence of expression. He speaks of "The right to dare everything in art in the name of the spirit. The absolute and legitimate domination of thought upon nature, and the need of the artist to express thought by artistic means, equivalent to nature's own." In one of his last letters he writes, "We have just passed through a long period of error in art, caused by the knowledge of physical and mechanical chemistry, and by the study of nature. Artists having lost their savagery and no longer able to rely on instinct, one might better say imagination, have strayed off on many different paths to find the productive elements they have no longer the strength to create. . . ." In another place he exclaims, "To think that there are schools to teach every one to follow the same path as his neighbour!"

Gauguin's best work was done in his final years of isolation and distress. The motives were all illustrative of his new surroundings, and since he had identified himself completely with the life of the natives, it was an expression of his own experience, not a traveller's tale of the unfamiliar. Gauguin's figures "grow naturally out of their matrix like flowers or trees. . . ." Tahitian motives and types lent themselves to an intarsia-like pattern and he made magnificent use of the vivid colour schemes of a tropical land and a primitive race. The very uncouthness of his drawing often gives a certain majesty to the somnolent forms of these dark skinned people, in whom we feel the action of elemental instincts free from the taboos of civilization. The technical method is without self-consciousness or any desire to astonish. Bodily forms from which all detail is omitted are rendered by two simple values giving them great reality. The broad outlines defining the figures move through the picture with a deliberate unifying purpose. It seems that

by such means and such only, are to be made known the strange lure of these creatures of nature, naked and unafraid, whose drowsy movements suggest ruminating cattle. Often the types have beauty and the woman at the left in the "Tahitian Group" might typify the ideal of kindly maternity for which in ancient times Hathor, the cow goddess, stood (Pl. 93B).

The "Salutation to Mary" with its startling note of vermilion and its Persian-like metamorphosis of flowering plants is a typical example. An idyll of untutored lands—that was all Gauguin attempted and that he achieved definitively. He has himself written his epitaph in saying, "It is true I know little, but what I do know is my own." There are too few contemporaries of whom this could be claimed.

Similar disregard for precedent characterizes the work of van Gogh (1853–1890), a Dutchman who turned to painting after a strangely varied career. He came of a line of preachers and he painted with fanatical passion and whipped up his medium with long sweeps and swirls of the brush so that the very surface of his canvas was vociferous. His colour combinations sometimes have a singular half savage force and unexpectedness. He takes every liberty with naturalistic colour, as in the "Postman" (Barnes Collection) where green is freely used in the beard. His quality as a portrait painter is well characterized by Gordon who says, "There is the same difference between a fashionable preacher and a Salvationist as between the fashionable portrait painter and van Gogh." "L'Arlésienne" is a superb example (Pl. 94C).

He was a northerner and there is a grim earnestness in everything that he does, although if we did not know his history it might almost seem at times that he was playing pranks with nature in a half whimsical vein. In "Building Roads in Arles" the accelerated interest resulting from repetition is illustrated. The way the trees, having writhed in the conquest of their freedom, hurl themselves upward in the exuberance of their escape from the mould is wonderfully expressive. They have the inner life that is given them in fairy tales and folk-lore. Everything is alive in this way—the windows spy, the doors offer hospice, the stones confide in one another.

A similar quality is illustrated in the "Houses" (Barnes Collection). It is transcribed with fervid haste as if the artist feared that his imaginative vision would fade before he could record it—an hallucination of houses huddled together as if they shared some strange secret and painted with striking colours in unusual com-

(*A*) Seurat. The Circus. Louvre, Paris. (Giraudon)

(*B*) Gauguin. Tahitian Girls and Youth

(*A*) Morton L. Schamberg. Canephoros. Formerly in collection of John Quinn, New York. (Keyes; American Art Association)

(*B*) Matisse. Odalisque. Collection of Henry Matisse, Paris. Gal. F. V. Dudensing

(*C*) Van Gogh. L'Arlésienne. German Collection. (Giraudon)

bination. His landscapes even when they represent cultivated fields and friendly localities startle by a stark reality beyond anything which most of us ever perceive in our familiar surroundings. In "Rain Effect" he captured the accompanying sound—the swish and sting of the downpour, and the grateful odour of the fields. In everything he did there is a suggestion that his unstable mind perceived potentialities in nature unsuspected by the normal man. Van Gogh lost his reason as the result of a sunstroke, but there is much in his previous history to suggest an overwrought condition. At the time that he died by his own hand he was the inmate of an asylum for the insane.

The work of these Post Impressionists, Gauguin and van Gogh, shows none of that abandonment to the joy of the senses which was both the strength and the limitation of the Impressionist school. It is more personal and far more creative than was that of the typical Impressionist painter, Monet.

It was left for younger associates of the Impressionists to develop the scientific aspect of the movement. "Consciousness of means began with Delacroix," Pach says, "it slumbered and found first full expression in neo-Impressionism." This name is generally given to the men, Signac and Seurat, who formulated the scientific theory to which Impressionist practice led and developed the technical method for its precise expression. The breaking up of tones into the spectrum hues and the application of the pigment in touches of pure colour side by side is known as divisionism. When the paint is laid on in minute spots the method is called pointillism. "The spot," Mr. Mather says, "was to the picture what vibration was to light." Such a practice was implicit in Impressionism and to some extent was employed by Pissarro, but the investigations of the younger men were supplemented by the study of Helmholtz, Chevreul, and Rood, and resulted in an exact formula.

In his water-colour paintings Signac (1853–) makes use of the method with the freedom which this medium particularly invites. A sparkling gaiety and vivacity give these small pictures great enchantment. But in oil paintings, however dazzling they may be, the square blocks of scientifically selected colours laid so regularly side by side present a formidable obstacle to esthetic enjoyment. We have consciously to think away the method—when the method should unconsciously be the very vehicle of sensuous pleasure!

The importance of the work of Seurat (1859–1891), however,

is not confined to the perfecting of a method. He is a composer in the exact sense of the term. His work recalls that of Piero della Francesca, one of the most impersonal and unemotional of the Italian masters, and his theoretic studies were based on an analysis of the old masters in the Louvre.

In the "Sunday at the Grande Jatte" the silhouettes of the women's figures dressed in the fashion of 1885 are scarcely less grotesque than are those of the attendants of the Queen of Sheba in Piero's "Story of the True Cross." The pleasure we derive from both is identical. It is primarily the satisfaction of a desire for appreciable mathematical relationships—the geometry of void and solid, an almost architectural quality. In both cases the pleasure resulting from the structure of the design is enhanced by the representative features and by the harmony of the surrounding atmospheric tone, full of light and air. The painter has successfully employed the pointillist method to produce a luminous atmospheric effect without sacrificing plastic form.

The rigidity of Seurat's early design was gradually softened by curved line and diversified by movement. Motives suggested by the vaudeville stage inspired several works. This type of design reached its climax in the "Circus" (Pl. 93A), which is fanciful and childlike in the glamour given to the subject, scientific in method, and full of magic effects of colour. Seurat's brief career ended with this picture which by many is regarded as one of the masterpieces of modern painting. His was the most logical mind of the younger generation and the consistent development and enrichment of his art promised an important future had he lived out the usual span. He contributed important factors in the evolution carried by Cézanne into the twentieth century.

Henri Matisse (1869–), born a decade later than Seurat, is one of the recognized leaders of the modern movement. His work has passed through many phases but colour is perhaps its most striking characteristic, colour so different from that of any preceding painter that it is difficult to find criteria by which to judge it. Often form and space are transmuted into oppositions of hue practically unmodified by shadow, and colour is employed wholly without reference to what we call local colour, so that a face may be orange or cerise as the scheme requires. This practice, combined with distortion of structure and disregard of accepted conventions of perspective, makes it impossible to form any conception of his work from reproductions. Even line, which is an important feature, can be judged only with relation to colour.

The strange inorganic "graffiti" which the reproduction records are transformed in the originals by the interplay of daringly opposed fields of pure colour. In modern music the ear is subjected to more and more dissonance and there would seem to be an interesting parallel with modern painting, for the quality of Matisse's colour is not only unusual but often startling and harsh. At times, however, the effects are enthralling, unprecedented as the juxtapositions may be. The influence of his studies in Morocco and the Riviera was modified by the prevalent interest in decoration and his brilliant tones suggest Persian wall tiles, although new effects result from his bizarre methods, and colour combinations are made with an expert knowledge of the physical reactions to be expected (Pl. 94B).

Matisse uses line in a variety of ways, but one remarks in many instances an intention to put the observer off the naturalistic track, for he often *thinks* in concave curves and by their use contradicts the positive structure of the body. Both by line and by strangely moving colour sequences he sometimes suggests a world all fluidity. In such examples as the "Joy of Life" and especially the "Dance," his line has in its convolutions a pulsation and abandon wholly independent of the element of representation. "It is by the varying tension of line," Pach says, "and not by modelling with light and shade that European art has always raised form to its purest expressiveness."

Matisse is often consciously naïve and "artfully artless," and we know that he regarded it as a high compliment to have his drawings compared to those of a child, as it is such unsophisticated vision that he seeks. Although in much of his work he is indifferent to plastic effects, at other times, especially in his portraits, the realization of three dimensions is convincingly real. This is the case in a well known portrait of a heavy featured woman with irregular eyes surrounded by deep discoloured rings. This strange gloomy person is alive and individual. The variety of compositional schemes in the portraits is matched by a sensitive response to different temperaments, as may be seen by comparing the above with the "Woman Wearing a Hat with Plumes," or the "Spaniard." In the former the design depends on the movement of the plumes and the pattern of hair and features. The characterization of the model with her high cheek-bones, narrowing chin, and absorbed gaze is full of interest. In the "Spanish Lady" Matisse interprets racial beauty with an equal perception.

In the painting of Matisse the decorative and abstract ele-

ments have been carried much farther than in the art of the preceding masters "where everything that was humanly important in the artist was esthetically important in the work of art" (Mather). Perhaps we are too near to this painting fairly to answer the question that Santayana proposed, "To how *much* of me does this work appeal?"

"The line of Cubism," Gordon says, "passed through Derain, who was the first to show by his works that he understood Cézanne. The older master's influence is evident in work produced about 1908, and it is clear that it was community of insight that led to similarity of style. Derain is a true disciple of the mind of Cézanne. In Le Port (1906) ingenuity and originality are shown in the composition and something in the pattern recalls Manet. After passing through an experimental period Derain's work since 1920 has gained dignity of form and draughtsmanship, and pattern has been broadened into composition.

If his finished paintings do not always escape harshness his drawings of the figure are sensitive and varied, and the contours, which are so finely incised, model bone and flesh with a sure knowledge of their anatomical meaning. Significant line and form become his paramount interest and the contrast between his tentative style before the war and the powerful work in portrait and landscape since 1920 is marked. The "Vue de Castelgandolfo" is like Cézanne, like Piero della Francesco—like the men who thought in plastic form. In views of hill towns the forms and lines all tend and thrust upward to support the buildings crowning the height. Often one line gives birth to another with a result exhilarating like that of a Gothic interior. This is well illustrated in the "Surroundings of Castelgandolfo," and in the "Fonte d' Albario" there is a similar sense of fecundity. Wedges of earth press in to the flat level of the path bordered by trees of immemorial age.

In the work of the artists so far mentioned the changes and modifications of natural aspects are never so extreme as to obscure the identity of the object, but with other contemporary painters a new theory has developed. Gordon describes the changes which have taken place in the aim of painting during the last fifty years. The adherence to fact which was the essence of the realistic school, was continued in Impressionism by the study of light: that is, the study of the agency or means by which objects are seen, while the Post Impressionists turned their attention to the mind which perceives. Carried to the extreme this means that the world of optical images is no longer the sole or even the chief source

of inspiration. The painter is led into a speculative region and he attempts to combine knowledge with observation, intellectual with visual conceptions.

Thus we arrive at the experiment of Cubism appearing in works of Picasso and Braque. The dilemma to which this may lead is illustrated by Gordon, who describes an imaginary painting of a street in which not only the façades seen by the eye would be represented, but the complete cubic form of the buildings from all sides shown simultaneously. Thus the artist attempts to amplify what the eye perceives by incorporating with it what the mind knows. By a similar method a sequence of movements was attempted as in the "Nude Descending the Stair."

Such an attempt leads to a multiplicity of planes bisected at various angles. Through the resulting maze the eye vainly attempts to discover familiar forms. Resemblance to the objective world is not, however, necessarily a part of the intention of these painters. For the pleasurable sensations which result from the representation on a two-dimensional plane, of three-dimensional forms, is enhanced, we are told, by abstraction. In transitional pictures such as the "Mandolin Player" by Picasso or the "Canephoros" by the American painter, Morton Schamberg (Pl. 94A), the triangles and cubes, like the squares of a cross-word puzzle, intrigue the mind with the desire to find objective forms "in three letters" which will fit. But in the "King and Queen Surrounded by Swift Nudes" (Pl. 81A), a complete abstraction is reached both in representation and in idea, for the forms bear no resemblance to nature and the title is explained as symbolizing permanent forces and mutable effects.

It was the statement of Cézanne that all forms in nature are reducible to "the sphere, the cone, and the cylinder" from which Cubism derived its thesis, but the final abstractions would certainly have seemed a strange anomaly to this master of plastic form and colour.

The representation of natural form in "crystalline structure" appeared in the work of the Frenchman, Braque (1882–), about 1908. The early work of the Spanish painter Picasso (1881–), realistic in theme and often subtle and delicate—almost evanescent—in touch, echoes the art of the past as in the El Greco period; but after 1913 the "drastic experiment" inaugurated by Braque (c. 1908) occupied his attention also. For a few years the movement passed by rapid stages to its completely abstract form. But Picasso, the most conspicuous member of

the group, has in recent work returned to normal subject material, although Mr. Pach gives the warning, "Let no one think it a whit less mysterious than the most 'abstract' of his painting."

Cubism was an extreme revolt against the imitative painting of the nineteenth century. It led into a field which by most of us is regarded as beyond the limits of the visual arts. The Cubists seem to have followed labyrinthine ways of technical and theoretical experiment but finally they have emerged, and this experience should bring their work into more intimate correspondence with the masters of past time. For we must realize that the plastic forces which the Cubist *isolates* are fundamental in all great design, in Masaccio and Titian no less than in Rubens and Cézanne. But the exposition of the naked mechanism alone cannot constitute a complete work of art. For in addition to these basic qualities of plastic equilibrium, painting renews itself perennially as it enables the "spirit to declare itself in terms of matter," and when contact with the objective world is severed all this rich accumulation of experience stored in the memory is set at naught, and painting stands apart from the common life experience; it is confined to an abstract sphere and relinquishes the opportunity to awaken a general human response in mankind. Is painting so to narrow itself in the future, or is Browning right in saying:

> "We're made so that we love
> First when we see them painted, things we have passed
> Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see;
> And so they are better painted—better to us,
> Which is the same thing. Art was given for that;
> God uses us to help each other so,
> *Lending our minds out.*"

The problem of contemporary art, it would seem, is so to combine the findings of this wholesome revolt against convention with the inherited tradition, that the appeal of painting may once more be general. Our questions may well be: What of the tradition? What relation does the modern movement bear to this European heritage?

Opinions differ on this point. Mr. Mather believes that modern art has broken with tradition. He describes the stages which prove an increasing separation from the past. The first step was to give up *tradition*. The Impressionists in their desire for fresh stimulus divested their minds of *memory*, and the final step was taken when the Cubist relinquished the *objective world*. In purify-

ing their art, Mather says, they have impoverished it. This theory may be illustrated by many examples which seem to prove the points conclusively.

Among the advocates of the new art Willard Wright agrees that a complete break has been made with the tradition of painting. This he is ready to concede because he considers that *the new art* does not in reality belong to the field of painting, but that it will express itself eventually through an entirely different medium, probably through coloured light, and that the art of painting freed from the insurgent body will continue to pursue a placid but uncreative path.

When we turn, however, to the reported conversations, or to the correspondence of the painters themselves, veneration of the masters of past time is universal. They feel themselves to be, and desire to remain, a part of the great tradition. ("I want to stay in the ranks"—Renoir.) They are occupied in making painstaking investigations and analyses of the practice of the old masters. Renoir says, "I have really lived a second life through the pleasure I have had from the work of the masters." Cézanne states that he wants to make of Impressionism an art like that of the museums. Seurat bases his design on the analysis of the old masters. "Picasso and Derain . . . have always been the most persistent students of the past and probably know far more about the Louvre than most of their academic opponents" (Gordon). Evidently these men would be the first to agree with Mather that to discard the great inheritance of the past would be to impoverish art.

The revolt of modern art is not then a revolt from the European tradition, but rather a revolt from plagiarism, from what Redon called "the parasitism of the object," and from that complacent and deadly inertia which Gauguin attacked in those who must borrow because they are too effete to invent. Examples are not lacking in which the accusation may justly be made that the painters "have made a significant alliance with savagery" but there is no danger that in the long run such work will survive. The movement that we call modern art is less than twenty-five years old. Judging from past history only half a dozen names are likely to survive. It would be strange if an age of such alert mentality, an age beginning to swing back from the materialism of the nineteenth century, left no adequate record in art. It is reasonable to believe that among the men now living there are those who will carry on the European tradition in painting. For

it is certain that in advocating an investigation of principles rather than an imitation of practices, the modern generation has recognized wherein alone the past may teach us, and in the meantime as Gordon pertinently says, "It is not new movements that we must fear but lack of movement." With Dürer we also may say, "Would to God it were possible for me to see the work and art of the mighty masters to come, who are yet unborn."

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BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES

AMERICAN SCHOOL

ABBEY, EDWIN A. (1852–1911). Born in Philadelphia, died in London. Studied at Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Later entered art department of Harper and Brothers, N. Y. Illustrator and mural painter.

ALEXANDER, JOHN W. (1856–1915). Born in Allegheny, Pa., died in New York City. Studied in Munich, Paris, and Florence. President of the National Academy of Design from 1909.

BEAUX, CECILIA. Born in Philadelphia, lives in New York City. Studied in Philadelphia and in the Julian and Lazar schools in Paris.

BELLOWS, GEORGE W. (1882–1925). Born at Columbus, Ohio, died at New York City. Pupil of Robert Henri.

BLASHFIELD, EDWIN HOWLAND (1848–). Born in New York City where he lives. Pupil of Bonnat in Paris. Mural decorator.

CASSATT, MARY (1845–1926). Born at Pittsburg, died at Paris. Pupil of Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and of Manet in Paris. Travelled in Europe where she was specially influenced by Velazquez. The influence of Degas and of Renoir is evident in her work.

CHASE, WILLIAM M. (1849–1916). Born in Indiana, died in New York City. Studied in America and with Wagner and Piloty in Munich.

COPLEY, JOHN SINGLETON (1737–1815). Born at Boston, died at London where he went in 1774. Chiefly self-taught.

DAVIES, ARTHUR B. (1862–). Born in Utica, N. Y., lives in New York City. Studied in Utica, New York, and Chicago.

DURAND, ASHER B. (1796–1886). Born in New Jersey where he died. Self-taught. At first an engraver, later landscape painter.

DUVENECK, FRANK (1848–1919). Born in Kentucky, died in Cincinnati, Ohio. Studied in Cincinnati and in Munich under Dietz, and was influenced by Leibl.

EAKINS, THOMAS (1844–1916). Born at Philadelphia where he died. Pupil of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and of the École des Beaux Arts where he studied with Gérôme and Bonnat.

FULLER, GEORGE (1822–1884). Born at Deerfield, Mass., died at Brookline, Mass. Studied in Albany and Boston.

HASSAM, CHILDE (1859–). Born at Boston, lives in New York City. Pupil of Boulanger and Lefebvre in Paris.

HENRI, ROBERT (1865–). Born at Cincinnati, Ohio, lives in New York City. Pupil of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Julian School, and École des Beaux Arts in Paris.

HOMER, WINSLOW (1836–1910). Born at Boston, died at Scarboro, Me. Apprenticed to a lithographer in Boston. Studied at National Academy of Design, New York City, and with Frederic Rondel. Was Civil War correspondent for *Harper's Weekly*. Began to paint in 1862.

HUNT, WILLIAM MORRIS (1824–1879). Born at Brattleboro, Vt., died at the Isles of Shoals. Studied at Düsseldorf. Pupil of Couture at Paris, influenced by Millet and the Barbizon school. In 1862 he settled in Boston where most of his remaining life was spent.

INNESS, GEORGE (1825–1894). Born at Newburgh, N. Y., died while travelling in Scotland. Apprenticed to a map engraver. Studied painting with Regis Gignoux. Travelled in Europe. Active in the neighbourhood of New York City.

LA FARGE, JOHN (1835–1910). Born at New York City, died at Providence, R. I. Pupil of Couture in Paris and of William M. Hunt in Boston.

MARTIN, HOMER D. (1836–1897). Born at Albany, N. Y., died at St. Paul Minn. Pupil of William M. Hart. Visited Europe but lived chiefly in New York City.

MYERS, JEROME (1867–). Born in Petersburg, Va., lives in New York City.

OAKLEY, VIOLET. Born in New York City. Pupil of Art Students' League and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts under Howard Pyle and Cecilia Beaux. Later studied in Paris. Mural painter.

PRENDERGAST, MAURICE B. (1862–1924). Born at Boston, Mass., died in New York City. Pupil of Joseph Blance at the Julian Academy, Paris.

ROBINSON, THEODORE (1852–1896). Born at Irasburg, Vt., died in New York City. Pupil of Carolus Duran and Gérôme, later of Claude Monet in Paris.

RYDER, ALBERT P. (1847–1917). Born at New Bedford, Mass., died in New York City. Pupil of National Academy of Design and of William E. Marshall

SARGENT, JOHN SINGER (1856–1925). Born at Florence, Italy, of American parents, died at London. Pupil of Carolus Duran in Paris.

SLOAN, JOHN (1871–). Born in Lock Haven, Pa. Lives in New York City. Painter and etcher.

STUART, GILBERT (1755–1828). Born in Narragansett County, R. I., died in Boston. Studied in America and with West in England where he lived for several years. He returned to America 1792 working in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington.

SULLY, THOMAS (1783–1872). Born in England, died at Philadelphia, Pa. Studied in America with Stuart and others, and in London with West. Settled in Philadelphia, 1808.

TRUMBULL, JOHN (1756–1843). Born at Lebanon, Conn., died at New York City. He served in the War of Independence and later held diplomatic posts in Europe. Pupil of West in London.

TWATCHTMAN, JOHN H. (1853–1902). Born at Cincinnati, Ohio, died at Gloucester, Mass. Pupil of Cincinnati School of Design, under Duveneck, the Academy at Munich under Loefftz.

VEDDER, ELIHU (1836–1923). Born at New York City, died in Rome. Pupil of T. H. Mattison, Sherburne, N. Y., and of Picot in Paris.

WEIR, J. ALDEN (1852–1919). Born at West Point, N. Y., died at New York City. Pupil of his father Robert W. Weir, of the National Academy of Design in New York, and École des Beaux Arts in Paris under Gérôme.

WEST, BENJAMIN (1738–1820). Born in Springfield, Pa., died in London. Painting portraits in Philadelphia at eighteen. Went to Italy. Settled in London in 1763. He became historical painter to George III and (1792) President of the Royal Academy.

WHISTLER, JAMES ABBOTT McNEILL (1834–1903). Born in Lowell, Mass., died at London. Educated at West Point. In 1855 went to Europe. Pupil of Gleyre in Paris. Settled in London 1859. Painter and etcher.

WYANT, ALEXANDER H. (1836–1892). Born at Port Washington, Ohio, died in New York City. Pupil of Hans Gude at Karlsruhe, Germany.

DUTCH SCHOOL

CAPPELLE, JAN VAN DE (ca. 1624–1679). Amsterdam School. Born in Amsterdam. Pupil probably of Simon de Vlieger. Received the freedom of the city 1653. Dated pictures from 1649.

CUYP, AELBERT (1620–1691). Haarlem School. Born at Dordrecht and died there. Son and pupil of J. G. Cuyp. His early works are in the manner of van Goyen, active 1639–1679.

DOU, GERRARD (1613–1675). Leiden School. Born in Leiden and died there. Pupil of his father (a glass painter) and others. Finally, 1628–1631, pupil of Rembrandt. One of the founders of the Leiden Guild.

ENGELBRECHTSEN, CORNELIUS (1468?–1533). Born at Leiden where he died. Master of Lucas van Leyden.

EVERDINGEN, ALLART VAN (1621–1675). Haarlem School. Born at Alkmaar. Travelled in Norway. In Haarlem 1642–1652, later in Amsterdam where he died.

GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS (ca. 1465–ca. 1493). Dutch School. Born in Leiden. Pupil of Aelbert van Ouwater. Active in Haarlem. "The Rembrandt of the XV. century." Innovator in landscape backgrounds.

GOGH, VINCENT VAN (1853–1890). Born at Groot Zundert in Dutch Brabant where his father was a Lutheran pastor. First in commercial life with his uncle. 1876 in London engaged in evangelical work. Later turned to art, first studying with his brother-in-law, Anton Mauve. Later in Paris where he came in contact with Seurat, Gauguin, and Pissarro. Committed suicide 1890 after some time spent in an asylum for the insane.

GOYEN, JAN JOSEFEZ VAN (1596–1656). School of Haarlem. Born at Leiden. Studied under various masters, finally Esaias van der Velde 1615. Travelled in France. About 1634 went to The Hague, where he became member of the Painters' Guild. He died at The Hague.

HALS, FRANS (1580/84–1666). School of Haarlem. Born at Antwerp. Perhaps a pupil of Karl van Mander who died 1604. Earliest known work 1611–1613. Died in Haarlem.

HOBBEMA, MEINDERT (1638–1709). School of Amsterdam where he was born and died. Earliest dated work 1659. Influenced by Ruisdael. In 1668 obtained a post in the Customs.

HOOCH, PIETER DE (1629–1677). Delft School. Born at Rotterdam. Probably a pupil of Karel Fabritius. About 1650 living in Delft and Leiden as a servant. 1645–1647 in the Delft Guild. 1664 in The Hague. 1668–1677 in Amsterdam where he died.

ISRAELS, JOSEF (1824–1911). Born at Groningen of Jewish parents, died at The Hague. Pupil of J. A. Kruseman at Amsterdam, Picot and Delaroche at Paris. Interpreter of the Dutch fisherman. Father of the modern Dutch school.

JONGKIND, JOHAN BARTHOLD (1819–1891). Born at Latdorp near Rotterdam. Studied first at The Hague under Schelfkout, then in Paris under Isabey. Closely identified with the transitional movement leading to Impressionism.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN (1494–1533) (real name Lucas Jacobsz). Born and died in Leiden. Pupil of his father and of Engelbrechtsen. Painter, engraver, and designer of woodcuts.

MAES, NICOLAS (1630–1693). School of Amsterdam. Born at Dordrecht. Pupil of Rembrandt in Amsterdam. Between 1662–1665 in Antwerp when his best work was done. After 1678 his painting underwent a great change to meet a fashionable demand. Died at Amsterdam.

MAUVE, ANTON (1838–1888). Born at Zaandam, died at Arnheim. Pupil of van Os. At different periods lived in Amsterdam, The Hague, and Laren.

METZU, GABRIEL (1630?–1667). School of Leiden. Born in Leiden. Probably studied under Dou. Influenced by Rembrandt and Ter Borch. In 1648 one of the first members of the Guild. Later in Amsterdam where he died.

OUWATER, AELBERT VAN (active ca. 1450–ca. 1480). Dutch School. Born near Haarlem? Follower perhaps of van Eyck when he was in The Hague 1422–1424. Active in Haarlem 1430–1460. Follower of Dierick Bouts. "Raising of Lazarus," Berlin, only surely authentic painting.

REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RYN (1606–1669). Schools of Leiden and Amsterdam. Born at Leiden, attended the University 1620. Studied under Swanenburgh and in Amsterdam under Pieter Lastman. Returned to Leiden 1624 but settled in Amsterdam 1632. Period of prosperity followed by bankruptcy. Possibly in England 1661–1662. Painter and famous etcher.

RUISDAEL, JACOB ISAACSZ VAN (1628/9–1682). School of Haarlem where he was born and died. Probably a pupil of his uncle, Solomon van Ruisdael. Influenced by Everdingen. In the Guild, Haarlem, 1648. Lived and painted in the vicinity of Amsterdam 1659–1681.

SEGHERS, HERCULES (1590–1640). Born in Haarlem, died in Amsterdam. He is believed to have travelled in Italy. Probably the pupil of Van Coninxloo in Amsterdam.

STEEN, JAN (1626–1679). School of Haarlem. Born and died in Leiden. Student in Leiden University 1646. Perhaps studied with Knupfer at Utrecht. Afterwards at The Hague with his father-in-law, van Goyen. Active in The Hague, Haarlem, and Leiden.

TER BORCH, GERARD (1611–1681). School of Haarlem. Born at Zwolle and taught by his father. At Amsterdam 1632. Pupil of the elder Pieter Molyn at Haarlem, in the Guild there 1635. Visited England, Italy, Spain, and perhaps France. Burgomaster in Deventer where he died.

VELDE, ESAIAS VAN DER (ca. 1590–1630). Born at Amsterdam, died at The Hague. Perhaps pupil of van Coninxloo. Probably master of Jan van Goyen.

VERMEER, JOHANNES (1632–1675). Delft School, also called Van der Meer. Born at Delft where he died. Probably pupil of Karel Fabritius; in the Guild 1653.

ENGLISH SCHOOL

BLAKE, WILLIAM (1757–1827). Poet and painter. Born in London, pupil of the Academy schools. Blake "engraved, printed and published his own inventions living and working in great poverty." He died in London.

BONINGTON, RICHARD PARKES (1801–1828). Born near Nottingham, died at London. Pupil of École des Beaux Arts under Baron Gros. Made frequent journeys to London to study the works of Constable.

BRANGWYN, FRANK (1867–). Born at Bruges. His father was a designer of fabrics and an architect interested in the Gothic revival. In London he was a pupil of Morris but he had little formal art education. Traveller in the East. A mural painter but also a designer for the applied arts.

BROWN, FORD MADOX (1821–1893). Born at Calais. Studied at Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp. In 1842–1845 in Paris and Italy. In 1846 he settled in London. Although intimate with its members he was never himself a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. He decorated the town hall, Manchester, 1878–1893. Died in London.

BURNE-JONES, SIR EDWARD (1833–1898). Of Welsh descent. Associated with Morris at Oxford where both were training for Holy Orders. In 1856 he became a pupil of Rossetti in London. Visited Italy 1859. Exercised a great influence on the decorative arts.

CONSTABLE, JOHN (1776–1837). Born in Suffolk, died at London. Copied drawings by Girtin and studied at the Royal Academy Schools but largely self-taught. He received a gold medal Paris, 1824, Lille, 1825. R. A. 1829.

COTMAN, JOHN SELL (1782–1842). Norwich School. Born at Norwich, died in London. Studied architecture and etching. Exhibited in London and Norwich. Teacher of drawing King's College School 1834.

CROME, JOHN (1768–1821) (known as Old Crome). Norwich School. He was born and died at Norwich. Apprenticed to a coach and sign painter. Influenced by Hobbema. He became a drawing master. Founded the Norwich Society 1802.

GAINSBOROUGH, THOMAS (1727–1788). Born in Sudbury. Studied engraving with Hubert Gravelot and painting with Francis Hayman. In 1746–1760 painting in Ipswich, 1760–1774 in Bath (influence of van Dyck), 1774–1788 in London. One of the founders of the Royal Academy.

GIRTIN, THOMAS (1775–1800). Born in London, apprenticed to Edward Doyes, a mezzotint engraver. Etcher and water-colourist. Early death from consumption. Turner's comment, often quoted: "Had Tom Girtin lived, I should have starved."

HOGARTH, WILLIAM (1697–1764). Born in London and died there. Apprenticed to an engraver, later pupil of Sir James Thornhill. Executed "conversation pieces." Visited France 1749, appointed Sergeant Painter to the king 1757. Great satirist. Engraver and painter.

HOPPNER, JOHN (1758–1810). Of German parentage, born and died in London. Pupil of the Royal Academy at the king's expense. In 1789, appointed portrait painter to the Prince of Wales.

HUNT, HOLMAN (1827–1910). Born at London where he died. Educated in the Royal Academy Schools. One of the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. Travelled in Palestine.

JOHN, AUGUSTUS (1879–). Leading figure in New English Art Club.

KNELLER, SIR GODFREY (1646–1723). Dutch-English. Born at Lübeck, died near London. Pupil of Ferdinand Bol in Amsterdam, Carlo Maratta and Bernini at Rome. Went to England 1674. Knighted 1692.

LAWRENCE, SIR THOMAS (1769–1830). Born at Bristol, died in London. Pupil of the Royal Academy schools in London. Succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as Painter in Ordinary to the King. He was knighted in 1815 and in 1820 was elected President of the Royal Academy. Travelled on the Continent. In 1825 was created Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.

LELY, SIR PETER (1617–1680) (Peter van der Faes called Lely). Dutch-English. Probably born in Utrecht. Influenced by van Dyck. Settled in England where he painted Cromwell and later became court painter to Charles II. He was knighted in 1680. He died in London.

MILLAIS, SIR JOHN EVERETT (1829–1896). Born at Southampton. 1840 student at Royal Academy. In 1849 with Rossetti and Holman Hunt founded the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

ORPEN, SIR WILLIAM (1878–). Born near Dublin, lives in London. Studied at the Dublin School of Art and at Slade School, London. Painted numerous war pictures. Knighted 1918.

RAEBURN, SIR HENRY (1756–1823). Born near Edinburgh. Pupil of David Martin. Painted miniatures. Later lived in London for a number of years. Travelled in Italy. President of the Royal Society of Artists in Edinburgh where he died.

REYNOLDS, SIR JOSHUA (1723–1792). Born at Plympton Earl, Devonshire, died in London. For two years pupil of Hudson. 1749–1752 in Italy, especially Rome, after 1752 in London. Knighted in 1768. First President of the Royal Academy, resigning in 1790. Friend of Johnson, Boswell, and Goldsmith.

ROMNEY, GEORGE (1734–1802). Born in Lancashire. Trained as cabinet maker, apprenticed to an itinerant painter, Christopher Steele. In 1756 began independent career. Settled in London 1762, where the greater part of his life was spent. Visited Paris 1764, Italy in 1773–1775. Great prosperity as portrait painter.

ROSSETTI, DANTE GABRIEL (1828–1882). Poet and painter, son of Gabriele Rossetti, an exiled Italian poet. Pupil of J. S. Cotman and of the Royal Academy schools. One of the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

TURNER, JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM (1775–1851). Born and died in London. Pupil of the Royal Academy schools. Influenced at first by Girtin and the XVII century Dutch painters; later by Claude Lorrain. Paintings exhibited between 1790–1850. Travelled on the Continent 1802–1819.

WATTS, GEORGE FREDERICK (1817–1904). Born in London. Studied in the Royal Academy schools, then under the sculptor Behnes. In Italy in 1843, and abroad again in 1856. Died in London.

WILSON, RICHARD (1714–1782). Born at Pinegas, died at Llanberis, North Wales. Studied portrait painting with Thomas Wright in London. In Italy 1749–1755. His landscapes influenced by Joseph Vernet and Claude Lorrain. One of original Academicians.

FLEMISH SCHOOL

BLES, HERRI MET DE (1480/85–1550). Born near Durant. Formed under the influence of Patinir. He travelled in Italy where he was called Civetta from the owl used in his signature. After 1521 he settled in Mecklin. He "combined Patinir's landscape art with a delicate Italianism."

BOSCH, HIERONYMUS (ca. 1460–1516) (Hieronymus van Aeken). Born at Bois-le-Duc where most of his life was spent. Probably a pupil of Aelbert Ouwater. His work greatly admired in Spain.

BOUTS, DIERICK (ca. 1400–1475). Born in Haarlem and died in Louvain. First worked in Haarlem, later under Roger van der Weyden, also influenced by the van Eycks. Settled in Louvain in 1448. Appointed official portrait painter of that city in 1464.

BRIL, PAUL (1554–1626). Pupil of Wortelmans in Antwerp, also influenced by Elsheimer. In 1592 he followed his brother to Rome and on his death succeeded to his official position. He shows novel effects of depth in landscape. He was the master of Agostino Tassi with whom Claude Lorrain studied.

BROUWER, ADRIAEN (1606?–1638). Born at Oudenarde. Pupil of Frans Hals in Haarlem 1626–1627, later in Antwerp where he died. Influenced by Rubens.

BRUEGEL, PIETER THE ELDER (ca. 1520–1570). Born in Brueghel, died in Brussels. Pupil of A. van Aelst, but Bosch was his real master. Went to Italy 1552, but showed no Italian influence. In the Antwerp Guild 1551. Settled in Brussels 1563.

CAMPIN, ROBERT (1378–1444) (active 1406–1444). Founder of the school of Tournai. Master of Roger van der Weyden and Jacques Daret. Formerly known as the Maître de Mérode and Maître de Flémalle.

CHRISTUS, PETRUS (ca. 1410?–1473). Born near Tilborg. In 1444 became citizen of Bruges where he died. Developed under the influence of Jan van Eyck. His dated works fall between 1446–1457. "He might almost be called the father of Flemish genre."

CLEEF, JOOS VAN THE YOUNGER (XVIth century). Born probably at Antwerp. Date of birth and death unknown. He was active in Antwerp, Paris, and London.

COQUES, GONZALES (1614–1684). Born at Antwerp. Student of the portrait painter Pieter Bruegel III, afterward of David Ryckaert. Developed under the influence of van Dyck.

DARET, JACQUES (fl. 1427–1468). Born at Tournai. Pupil with Roger van der Weyden of Robert Campin, 1418–1426. Active in Aachen, Tournai, Arras, Lille, and Bruges.

DAVID, GERARD (1450/60–1523). Born at Oudewater, Holland. Probably studied in Haarlem under Geertzen tot Sint Jans or Bouts. In 1484 in Bruges, influenced by Memlinc. First important commission 1488. In 1515 he visited Antwerp and shows the influence of that school. He died at Bruges.

DYCK, ANTHONY VAN (1599–1641). Born at Antwerp, died at London. His first master Hendrik van Balen, later assistant of Rubens. Full member of Antwerp Guild before he was nineteen. In 1621 he went to Italy where he remained five years. He returned to Flanders about 1626, but in 1632 he settled in England and became court painter for Charles I.

EYCK, HUBERT VAN (1370?–1426). Born at Maaseyck near Maastricht. Settled in Ghent before 1425. Author of the Ghent altar-piece left unfinished at his death. Probably travelled in the Low Countries, France, England, and Spain.

EYCK, JAN VAN (1390?–1441). Born at Maaseyck. Attached to the household of John of Bavaria, with him in The Hague 1422–1424. On the death of John he entered the service of Philip the Good in Flanders. Sent on various missions. After 1429 he settled in Bruges. Finished the Ghent altar-piece after his brother's death. Received a large pension in 1435.

GOES, HUGO VAN DER (1435?–1482). Probably born in Goes in Zeland. Active in Ghent 1465–1475 and master of the Guild in 1466. Active also in Brussels. In the royal service in Bruges for the marriage of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, at Ghent for the jubilee. Entered a monastery in 1476 and died shortly after, mentally deranged.

JORDAENS, JACOB (1593–1678). Painter and engraver. Pupil of Adam van Noort whose daughter he married. Developed under the influence of Rubens. Active in Antwerp and became a member of the Guild in 1616. Decorated the House in the Wood, The Hague.

JUSTUS VAN GHENT (active 1460–1480) (Joost van Wassenhove). Little known of his early life. Called to Urbino by Federigo Montefeltro where in collaboration with Melozzo da Forli he decorated the ducal palace.

MABUSE, JAN GOSSAERT, called (ca. 1472–1535). Called Mabuse from the town of his birth, Maubeuge. In the Antwerp Guild 1503. In 1508 went to Italy; he was influenced by Leonardo, Michelangelo, and the antique. Returned in 1509 and later settled in Middelburg. Accompanied Philip of Burgundy to Utrecht.

MASSYS, QUENTIN (1466?–1530). Born at Louvain. Influenced by Bouts. By 1491 he was established in Antwerp where he became master in the Guild. In 1502–1503 worked for Spanish patrons. He also travelled in Italy. His dated pictures fall between 1504–1517.

MASTER OF THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN. Probably identical with Joos van Cleef the Elder (1490–1540), Antwerp School. Influenced by Massys and Patinir. Perhaps travelled to Cologne and Genoa.

MEMLINC, HANS (ca. 1430–1494). Born in Germany. His work shows reminiscences of the style of Cologne where his education was probably received. 1467 master painter in Bruges where his later life was spent. Dated work falls between 1467 and 1491.

MORO, ANTONIO (1519–1576/78) (Ser Antonio Moro, Sir Anthony More). Born at Utrecht. Pupil of Scorel, a true cosmopolitan. In portraiture marks a transition from the early style to that of Rubens and van Dyck. Invited to Spain by Philip II, 1552. Painted Queen Mary of England 1554. In Madrid 1558–1560. Died in Antwerp.

ORLEY, BERNARD VAN (ca. 1491–1542). Born at Brussels. Pupil of his father Valentin; developed under Italian influence. The most completely Italianate of the great painters of the century. Influenced by Lombard painters and by Raphael. In 1518 he was appointed official painter to the Regent of the Netherlands. Designed for tapestry and stained glass.

PATINIR, JOACHIM DE (ca. 1485–1524). Born at Dinant. By 1515 in the Guild in Bruges. 1520 he was in Antwerp where he met Dürer. Excelled in landscape backgrounds. The most lyric painter of the school. Died in Antwerp.

POURBUS II, FRANÇOIS (1569–1622) (Frans the Younger). In Bruges 1589, master St. Luke's Guild, Antwerp, in 1591, in Brussels 1600. Court painter in Mantua, in Paris after 1609. Worked for Henri IV and Marie de' Medici. As portrait painter inferior to earlier Pourbus.

RUBENS, PETER PAUL (1577–1640). Born in Westphalia. His father a Calvinist and mother a Catholic. Returned from exile after death of his father. Excellent general education. Training in painting under local artists. In Italy in the service of the Gonzaga family 1600–1608. Venice, Mantua, Rome, Genoa. After 1609 court painter to Belgian rulers. In Paris 1621 and 1627, Madrid, 1603–4 and 1628–9, London, 1629–30. Artist, scholar, courtier, diplomat.

SNYDERS, FRANS (1579–1657). Born at Antwerp. Animal and still life painter. Pupil of Pieter Bruegel the Younger and van Balen. Active in Antwerp after 1602 when he joined the Guild. In Italy 1608.

STEVENS, ALFRED (1828–1906). Born at Brussels. Pupil of Navez, under Ingres in the École des Beaux Arts.

SUSTERMANS, JUSTUS (1597–1681). Born at Antwerp. Portrait painter. Pupil of Willem de Vos in Antwerp (ca. 1610), then of Frans Pourbus the Younger in Paris. Principal activity in Florence where he was court painter to the Grand Dukes of Tuscany.

TENIERS, DAVID THE YOUNGER (1610–1690). Son and pupil of David Teniers the Elder. In 1632 in the Guild in Antwerp. Influenced by Rubens and Brouwer. Appointed court painter by Archduke Leopold William. Painter and etcher. Most important member of an artistic family. Died at Brussels.

WEYDEN, ROGER VAN DER (1400–1464). Born at Tournai, the son of a sculptor. In 1432 master in the Guild. Pupil of Campin. Active in Tournai and Brussels (1436 state painter). Visited Rome 1449–1450 and was probably court painter for Lionello d'Este, Ferrara.

FRENCH SCHOOL

BEAUNEVEU, ANDRÉ (active 1360–1390). Born in Valenciennes. Active in his own country and in France under Charles V and VI. Sculptor and painter if not architect.

BELLECHOSE, HENRI (active ca. 1415–1440). Born in Brabant. Succeeded Jean Malouel in service of John the Fearless, whose valet de chambre he became 1415. Formed an atelier, but died in poverty, ill paid by his patron.

BOUCHER, FRANÇOIS (1703–1770). Born in Paris and died there. Pupil of his father, a designer of embroideries, and of Le Moine. In Rome 1727. In Paris 1731. 1755 Director of the Gobelins. Designed for Beauvais tapestries.

BOUDIN, EUGÈNE (1824–1898). Born at Honfleur, died at Deauville. Worked at Le Havre, Bordeaux, and Deauville.

BRAQUE, GEORGES (1882–). Born at Argenteuil. A pupil of the French school. Exhibited in Salon des Indépendents and 1920 with the Masters of Cubism among whom he is a leader.

BRETON, JULES (1827–1906). Born at Courrières, died at Paris. Pupil of Félix de Vigne at Ghent, Wappers at Antwerp, École des Beaux Arts at Paris under Drolling.

BROEDERLAM, MELCHIOR (active 1381–1409). Born at Ypres. Court painter to the Flemish and Burgundian dukes. Employed by Philip the Bold whose valet de chambre he became in 1385. Travelled in various countries but most of his life was spent at Ypres. His principal work (1392) was done for Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon.

CÉZANNE, PAUL (1839–1906). Born at Aix-en-Provence where he died. Son of a banker. Early friendship for Zola. Studied at the Académie Suisse in Paris. Early work influenced by Manet and the Impressionists. An experimentalist, never tried to support himself by his art.

CHAMPAGNE, PHILIPPE DE (1602–1674). Born in Brussels; in Paris 1621, Brussels 1627, returned to Paris. One of original members of Académie Royale. Decorated the Luxembourg for Marie de' Medici.

CHARDIN, JEAN-BAPTISTE SIMÉON (1699–1779). Born in Paris and died there. Trained under Cazes and Noël Coypel, then worked with van Loo at Fontainebleau. Member of the Académie.

CHASSÉRIAU, THÉODORE (1819–1856). Born in South America of French parents. Pupil of École des Beaux Arts under Ingres 1833.

CLAUDE LORRAIN (1600–1682) (Claude Gellée). Born near Charmes. Went to Rome ca. 1613, became servant and pupil of Tassi in Rome, 1625–1627 in France. Made the friendship of Sandrart in Rome where he died.

CLOUET, FRANÇOIS THE ELDER (1505–1572). Son of Jean Clouet. 1541 succeeded his father as painter to Francis I. Also painter to Henry II.

CLOUET, JEAN (JEHAN) (1475–1540). Flemish by birth but active in France. Painted in the court of Francis I.

COROT, JEAN-BAPTISTE CAMILLE (1796–1875). Born in Paris, died at Ville d'Avray. Began life as a linen draper. A pupil of Michallon and Victor Bertin in Paris. Visited Italy 1827 and again in 1834.

COURBET, GUSTAVE (1819–1877). Born at Ornans, died near Vevey, Switzerland. Pupil of Steuben and of Hesse in Paris where the greater part of his life was spent.

COUTURE, THOMAS (1815–1879). Born at Senlis, died near Paris. Pupil of Gros and Delaroche in Paris.

DAUBIGNY, CHARLES-FRANÇOIS (1817–1878). Worked under his father, a miniature painter, and under Delaroche. Travelled on the Continent and visited England. Officer of the Legion of Honour 1874.

DAUMIER, HONORÉ (1808–1879). Born at Marseilles, died at Valmondois. Studied lithography with Ramelet in Paris, in which city most of his life was spent.

DAVID, JACQUES LOUIS (1748–1825). Born at Paris, died in Brussels. Pupil of Boucher and of Vien. Grand Prix de Rome 1774. Painter to Louis XVI, later to Napoleon. Exiled to Brussels 1816.

DEGAS, HILAIRE GERMAIN EDGARD (1834–1917). Born in Paris. Pupil of École des Beaux Arts but student in the Louvre. Man of means. Visited Italy and America. Painter and worker in pastel.

DELACROIX, FERDINAND VICTOR EUGÈNE (1798–1863). Born at Charenton, died at Paris. Studied under Guérin in Paris. Visited Morocco and Spain 1832. Never went to Italy. A leader of the Romantic movement.

DERAIN, ANDRÉ (1880–). Influenced by van Gogh. One of the leaders among the younger men.

DIAZ DE LA PEÑA (1807–1876) (Narcisco Virgilio). Barbizon School. Born at Bordeaux of Spanish parents, died at Mentone. Worked in a china factory in Paris. Met Rousseau and settled in Fontainebleau. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour 1857.

DUPRÉ, JULES (1811–1889). Born at Nantes, died near Paris. As a youth a decorator in a porcelain factory. Studied painting under Langée and Pils in Paris.

DURAN, CAROLUS (1838–1919) (Charles Auguste Émile Duran). Studied in Paris, Rome, and Spain. Returned to Paris 1869. Founder with Meissonier and Puvis de Chavannes of the Société Nationale des Beaux Arts.

FANTIN-LATOUR, IGNACE HENRI JEAN THÉODORE (1836–1904). Born at Grenoble, died at Buvé, trained under his father, Lecoq de Boisbandrau, and others. Officer of the Legion of Honour, 1900.

FOUQUET, JEAN (1415–ca. 1485). Born at Tours. Influenced by Flemish and Italian painters. Visited Rome (1443–1447) where he painted Eugenius IV. Returned to Tours; active in the service of Charles VII and Louis XI.

FRAGONARD, JEAN HONORÉ (1732–1806). Born in Paris where he died. Pupil of Chardin and of Boucher. Prix de Rome 1752. Travelled in Italy; studied Tiepolo, and worked in the gardens of the Villa d'Este. Painted for the court of Louis XV. Neglected and forgotten after the Revolution.

GAUGUIN, PAUL (1851–1903). Born in Paris of Breton father and a Peruvian creole mother. At age of fourteen ran away to sea. Returning to Paris, became a banker, married, and settled down. Artistic instinct awakened by works of Pissarro. Began to exhibit 1880. Founded the "Pont-Aven" school in Brittany. 1887 first visited Martinique. 1891 settled in Tahiti where he died.

GÉRICAULT, JEAN LOUIS ANDRÉ THÉODORE (1791–1824). Born at Rouen, died at Paris. Studied with Vernet and with Guérin.. Influenced by Gros.

GÉRÔME, JEAN LÉON (1824–1904). Born at Vesoul, died at Paris. Pupil of Delaroche whom he accompanied to Rome 1844 and of Gleyre in Paris. Sculptor and painter.

GREUZE, JEAN BAPTISTE (1725–1805). Born near Mâcon, died at Paris. Received his training in Lyons, Paris, and Rome. Travelled in Italy 1755/6. Settled in Paris.

GROS, ANTOINE-JEAN (1771–1835). Son of artistic parents. In Genoa met Madame Bonaparte. Later entered the army. Selected the paintings which Napoleon took as tribute. Received Cross of Legion of Honour for the "Battle of Eylau" 1808.

INGRES, JEAN AUGUSTE DOMINIQUE (1780–1867). Born at Montauban, died in Paris. Pupil of David in Paris. Worked in Rome and Florence. Influenced by Raphael. Prix de Rome 1801. 1834 Director of French School at Rome. Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour 1855.

JACQUEMART DE HESDIN (XIV and XV cen.). Miniaturist for the city of Paris, painted illuminations for the duke of Burgundy 1384, for the duke of Berry 1400.

LARGILLIÈRE, NICOLAS DE (1656–1746). Pupil of Goubeau in Antwerp and of Sir Peter Lely in London. Settled in Paris after 1678.

LANCRET, NICOLAS (1690–1743). Born and died in Paris. Pupil of Gillots, follower of Watteau.

LA TOUR, MAURICE QUENTIN DE (1704–1788). Born and died at St. Quentin. Painter in pastel. Pupil of Dupouch. Spent some time in England. 1750 given title of painter to the king.

LE BRUN, CHARLES (1619–1690). Born and died in Paris. Pupil of Vouet. A great organizer and director. Founded the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris. Prolific designer for the Gobelins of which he was director.

LE MOINE, FRANÇOIS (1688–1737). Born and died at Paris. Pupil of Louis Galloche. First painter to the king 1736. Undertook large wall and ceiling decorations in Paris and Versailles.

LE NAIN. Three brothers; Antoine (ca. 1586–1648), Louis, called the Roman (1593–1648), and Mathieu (ca. 1607–1677). All born at Laon. Taught painting by a foreign travelling artist. In 1630 the three brothers settled at Paris where they worked together. In 1648 they were all members of the Academy.

LE SUEUR, EUSTACHE (1616–1655). Born at Paris and died there. Pupil of Simon Vouet. Worked chiefly in Paris. One of the original members of the Academy.

MALOUEL, JEAN (active 1396–1415). Originally from Gueldre but worked in Paris. In 1397 became painter for Philip the Bold. Active in his service in many places. Afterwards in service of John the Fearless.

MANET, ÉDOUARD (1832–1883). Born in Paris and died there. Pupil of Courture. Influenced by Velazquez, Hals, and Goya. A cultivated gentleman of means.

MATISSE, HENRI (1869–). Born at Cateau-Cambrésis. Pupil of Bouguereau and of École des Beaux Arts, later of Moreau. His work at first related to the Impressionists, later more individualistic. One of the leaders of contemporary art.

MICHEL, GEORGES (1763–1843). Born at Paris and died there. Almost unknown to his generation. Painted in Montmartre.

MIGNARD, PIERRE (1610–1695) (called "the Roman"). Born at Troyes, died at Paris. Training in Bourges, Troyes, and under Vouet in Paris. Studied Annibale Carracci's work in Rome. Active in Rome and Paris.

MILLET, JEAN FRANÇOIS (1814–1875). Born near Grêville, died at Barbizon. Pupil of Langlois at Cherbourg and of Delaroche in Paris.

MONET, CLAUDE (1840–1927). Born at Paris where his father was a merchant. Spent his childhood in Havre and was encouraged by Boudin and Jongkind. Later developed under the influence of Corot. Visited London 1870–1871. The leader of the impressionist group.

MOREAU, GUSTAVE (1826–1898). Born at Paris and died there. Pupil of Chassériau. Inspired by Flaubert. Rich and independent. He has been called the Burne-Jones of France.

NATTIER, JEAN MARC (1685–1766). Born at Paris and died there. Pupil of his father. Travelled in Holland and Russia.

PATER, JEAN-BAPTISTE-JOSEPH (1695–1736). Born at Valenciennes, died at Paris. Pupil of his father and of Watteau.

PISSARRO, CAMILLE (1830–1903). Born in the Danish West Indies. Moved to Paris 1855 and came into contact with Corot and Monet. With Monet in 1871 visited England and felt the influence of Turner's work. After 1896 an affection of the eyes compelled him to work indoors.

POL DE LIMBOURG (active 1st quarter of XVth century). Born in the north but with his brothers settled in France. May have been nephew of Malouel. Miniature painter for the duke of Berry. At work on the Très Riches Heures when the duke died and it was abandoned. May have been employed by Philip the Bold.

POUSSIN, NICOLAS (1594–1665). Born in Normandy. Studied under Quintin Varin. In Paris 1612, Rome 1624 working under Domenichino. Influenced by the school of Giulio Romano. In Paris 1640–1642. Painter in Ordinary to Louis XIII. Returned to Rome and died there.

PRUD'HON, PIERRE (1758–1823). Born at Cluny, died at Paris. Pupil of Desvoges in Doyn. Spent seven years in Rome, most of his life in Paris.

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES, PIERRE CÉCILE (1824–1898). Born at Lyons, died in Paris. In his youth twice visited Italy. Pupil of Scheffer and Couture in Paris.

REDON, ODILON (1840–1904). Born at Bordeaux, pupil of Gérôme. Drawings exhibited 1881 created great interest, 1901 exhibited pastels.

RENOIR, PIERRE AUGUSTE (1841–1919). Born at Limoges, died at Paris. Began to earn his living as a painter on porcelain. Pupil of École des Beaux Arts in Paris under Gleyre. Influenced by Manet.

RIGAUD, HYACINTHE (1659–1743). Born at Perpignan, died in Paris. Pupil of Pezet, at Montpellier, later at Lyons, then Paris. Long and successful career as a portrait painter.

ROUSSEAU, THÉODORE (1812–1867). Born at Paris, died at Barbizon. Pupil of Rémond and Lethière.

SEURAT, GEORGES (1859–1891). Followed course in École des Beaux Arts. An assiduous student in libraries and museums, formulating his theories on these studies. 1883 met Signac at Exhibition of Société des Indépendents.

SIGNAC, PAUL (1863–). After 1884 exhibited regularly with the Société des Indépendents, of which, on the death of Valton, he became the president. Painted in many cities.

SIMON, LUCIEN (1861–). Born in Paris. At first a student of the Julian Academy, he later came under the influence of the realistic movement in modern French art.

SISLEY, ALFRED (1839–1899). Born at Paris of English parents. Pupil of Gleyre. Influenced by Corot and afterwards associated with Monet and Renoir. Painted in England but chiefly at Moret-sur-Loing.

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC, HENRI DE (1864–1901). Deformed in body, active in mind. Influenced by Degas and Forain. Paintings, pastels, lithographs. Gross subjects but delicate art.

TROY, JEAN FRANÇOIS DE (1679–1752). Born in Paris, died in Rome. Son and pupil of François de Troy. Went to Italy 1699–1705. Director of French Academy in Rome 1738. A man of means and lover of pleasure; work of unequal merit. Designed for Gobelin tapestries.

TROYON, CONSTANT (1810–1865). Born at Sèvres, died at Paris. Pupil of Riocreux and Poupart, influenced by Roqueplan and the XVII century painters.

VOUET, SIMON (1590–1649). Born and died in Paris. Developed through the study of Italian masters.

WATTEAU, ANTOINE (1684–1721). Born at Valenciennes, died near there. Pupil of C. Gillot and C. Audran. Studied Rubens and Paul Veronese. Active in Paris. Visited London 1720–1721. Early death from consumption.

GERMAN SCHOOL

ALTDORFER, ALBRECHT (ca. 1480–1538). Probably pupil of his father, influenced by Dürer and Grünewald. Active in Regensburg. Active as architect and engraver as well as painter. Adherent of Luther.

BALDUNG, HANS (1475/80–1545) (called Grün). Developed under the influence of Dürer, influenced also by Schongauer. Active in Strassburg and Freiburg.

BURGKMAIR, HANS (1473–1531). Swabian School. Son and pupil of Thomas Burgkmair, probably worked also with Schongauer. Visited Italy and was influenced by Venetian painting. Drew many designs for Maximilian's publications.

CRANACH, LUCAS, THE ELDER (1472–1553) (real name Lucas Sunder). Born at Kronach, Bavaria, died at Weimar. Pupil of his father. Influenced by Dürer and Grünewald. 1504 appointed court painter to Saxon Elector, Frederick the Wise. Settled in Wittenberg where he was Burgomaster in 1537 and 1540. Friend of Luther.

DÜRER, ALBRECHT (1471–1528). Nuremberg School. First worked in his father's goldsmith's shop, then with Wolgemut (1486–1490). Influenced by Schongauer and Mantegna. After four years of travel settled in Nuremberg. Chief activity as a painter 1507–1511. Visited Italy 1505 and the Netherlands 1521. One of the greatest designers of woodcuts.

ELSHEIMER, ADAM (1578–1620). Born at Frankfurt. In Rome in 1600 where he remained until his death. There known as Adam Tedesco. Influenced Rembrandt and the Dutch School.

GRÜNEWALD, MATTHIAS (1485–1530). Born probably at Frankfurt. He was employed by the Archbishop Albert of Mayence and was established at Aschaffenburg. Unequalled among German painters for his mastery of colour. Altar-piece of Isenheim 1510.

HOLBEIN, HANS, THE ELDER (1460/70–1524). Swabian School. Born at Augsburg, died at Isenheim. Influenced by Schongauer and indirectly by Roger van der Weyden. "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," Munich, his masterpiece.

HOLBEIN, HANS, THE YOUNGER (1497–1543). Swabian School. Born at Augsburg, pupil of his father. In 1514–1516 Hans and his brother went to Basle where Hans designed title pages, etc. for the press. In Lucerne he painted façades of houses. Visited London and perhaps Italy. 1531 working for German merchants in London. Ca. 1536 became court painter to Henry VIII by whom he was employed on several missions.

LOCHNER, STEFAN (active 1430–1451). Cologne School. Born near Constance where his training was probably received. A Swabian painter who settled in Cologne ca. 1430. "The Madonna of the Violet" was painted for the noble founder of the Convent of St. Cecilia, Elsa de Ruchenstein. In 1440 triptych ordered for chapel of Hôtel de Ville (now in Cathedral).

MASTER OF THE HOLY KINSHIP (active 1484–1509). Cologne School. Named from his masterpiece in Cologne. Also worked in stained glass; three windows in the cathedral were executed by him.

MASTER OF THE LIFE OF MARY (active 1460–1490). Cologne School. Named from a series of paintings in Munich. Influenced by Lochner, Bouts, and Roger van der Weyden.

MENGS, ANTON RAPHAEL (1728–1779). Born in Bohemia, died at Rome. Pupil of his father. From 1740 developed under the influence of the classical masters in Italy. Returned many times to Rome. Became court painter in Saxony 1744. In Madrid 1761.

PACHER, MICHEL (ca. 1435–1498). Tyrolese School. Active in Brunswick, in the Tyrol, died in Salzburg. One of the greatest German artists of the second half of the fifteenth century. Important altar-piece painted for Brixen Cathedral, now in Munich. His greatest work (1481) for the church of St. Wolfgang near Salzburg.

PLEYDENWURFF, HANS (third quarter, fifteenth century, died 1472). Nuremberg School. The Flemish influence of Roger van der Weyden was brought to Nuremberg by him, ca. 1450.

PLEYDENWURFF, WILHELM. Nuremberg School. Son of Hans, stepson of Michael Wolgemut. The Peringsdörffer altar is ascribed to him. Engaged with Wolgemut to draw decorations for Hartmann Schedel's "World Chronicle."

SCHONGAUER, MARTIN (ca. 1445–1491). Born in Colmar, matriculated at Leipzig University 1465. First painter of note in school of Colmar. Earliest known painting 1473. Follower of Roger van der Weyden. Excelled as an engraver.

MEISTER WILHELM (active ca. 1358–1378). Cologne School. Probably to be identified with the master mentioned in the Limberg Chronicle as a most highly esteemed artist.

WOLGEMUT, MICHEL (1434–1519). Nuremberg School. Pupil of Hans Pleydenwurff. Head of a large workshop in Nuremberg which produced painting, sculpture, and engraving.

ITALIAN SCHOOL

ALTICHIERI, ALTICHIERO (1330?–1395) (Altichieri da Zevio). School of Verona. Worked in partnership with Avanzi in Padua and Verona. Shows Florentine and Sienese influence.

ANDREA DA FIRENZE (act. 1343–1377). Florentine School. Probably Andrea Bonajuto registered in Florentine Guild 1343 and in the Company of St. Luke 1374. Worked in the Spanish Chapel (1365) and executed part of the St. Ranieri series of frescos, Campo Santo, Pisa.

ANGELICO, FRA GIOVANNI (1387–1455) (Giovanni da Guido di Piero). Florentine School. Born in province of Mugello; joined the Dominican order Fiesole 1407. As a result of the schism the order moved to Umbria 1409–1418; 1418–1436 in Fiesole; 1436 order moved to renovated convent of S. Marco. After 1445 worked in Orvieto and Rome where he died.

ANTONELLO DA MESSINA (1430–1479). Venetian School. Born at Messina where he worked chiefly. Having worked with some Flemish master, he popularized the northern method of "oil" painting in Italy. In Venice 1475–1476.

ANTONIO VENEZIANO (second half of fourteenth century) (Antonio di Francesco da Venezia). Florentine School. Probably born at Venice, worked in Tuscany, at Siena, Florence, and Pisa, 1370–1388. Author of three lower frescos, St. Ranieri, Pisa, ca. 1384.

AVANZI, JACOPO DEGLI (second half of fourteenth century). School of Verona. Worked in partnership with Altichieri in Padua and Verona.

BALDOVINETTI, ALESSO (1425–1499). Florentine School. Painter but also designed for mosaics, intarsia, and stained glass. Influenced by realists and idealists. Worked chiefly in Florence. Master of Cosimo Rosselli, Ghirlandajo, Verrocchio, A. Pollajuolo.

BARBARI, JACOPO DE' (1450–1515). Venetian School. Born in Venice, perhaps of German extraction. Pupil of Alvise Vivarini, influenced by Antonello da Messina. About 1490 left Venice and established himself in Nuremberg, where he was known as Jacob Walch. He knew and influenced Dürer. Employed by Count Philip, son of Philip of Burgundy. Later in service of Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands.

BAROCCIO, FEDERIGO (1528–1612). Roman School. Pupil of Battista Franco, born in Urbino. Visited Rome 1548–1560. Worked chiefly at Urbino where he died.

BARTOLOMMEO, FRA (1475–1517) (Baccio della Porta). Florentine School. Born at Florence. Pupil of Cosimo Rosselli, Albertinelli associated with him. Influenced by Perugino, Leonardo, and Piero di Cosimo. Became Dominican friar 1500. Visited Venice, Rome, and Lucca. Died in Florence.

BASAITI, MARCO (ca. 1470–1527). Venetian School. Pupil of Alvise Vivarini, later worked under Giovanni Bellini to whom his paintings are sometimes attributed. A dignified severe style.

BASSANO (1510–1592) (Jacopo da Ponte). Venetian School. Born in Bassano. Son and pupil of Francesco da Ponte. Studied afterwards under Bonifazio Veronese in Venice, but had returned by 1541 to Bassano. His four sons assisted him.

BELLINI, GENTILE (1429–1507). Venetian School. Son of Jacopo Bellini whom he assisted in Padua; 1464 in Venice; 1469 knighted; commissioned (with others) to decorate the Great Hall of Council in Ducal Palace, 1474; sent to Constantinople 1479 returning to Venice where he died the following year.

BELLINI, GIOVANNI (ca. 1430?–1516). Venetian School. Assistant of his father Jacopo in Padua. After 1460 settled at Venice. Matured slowly. Became head of the Venetian school. Exerted a profound influence.

BELLINI, JACOPO (active 1430–1470). Venetian School. Pupil of Gentile da Fabriano. Influenced by Pisanello. Highly esteemed in his day. Work in Padua, Venice, and other north Italian cities. His style to be judged by his sketch books preserved in the British Museum and the Louvre.

BENVENUTO DI GIOVANNI (1436–ca. 1518). Sienese School. Born at Siena where he died. Pupil of Vecchietta, also felt Umbrian influence.

BOLTRAFFIO, GIOVANNI ANTONIO (1467–1516). School of Milan. Follower of Leonardo, probably receiving his first training from Foppa. Strong work.

BONFIGLI, BENEDETTO (1420–1496). Umbrian School. Influenced by Sienese painters and by Fra Angelico and Gozzoli. Before 1453 worked in Rome. After 1454 frescos in the Palazzo del Consiglio, Perugia; died in Perugia.

BOTTICELLI, SANDRO (1444/7–1510) (Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi). Florentine School. Pupil of goldsmith (Botticelli), later of Fra Filippo Lippi; influenced by the naturalists, especially A. Pollajuolo. Active in Florence. Invited to Rome 1481–1483 by Sixtus IV to work in Sistine Chapel. Influenced by Savonarola. Died in Florence.

BRONZINO (1502?–1572) (Angelo Allori). Florentine School. Pupil first of R. del Garbo, later of Pontormo. Influenced by Michelangelo. Friend of Vasari.

CANALETTO (1697–1768) (Antonio da Canale). Venetian School. Son and assistant of B. da Canale. Went to Rome where he studied architecture. Returning settled in Venice. In 1746 worked in England for some time.

CARAVAGGIO, MICHELANGELO MERISI DA (1560/65–1609). Roman School. Born at Caravaggio. Worked in Milan, Venice, Rome, Naples, Malta. Leader of school of the naturalists.

CAROTO, FRANCESCO (1470–1546). School of Verona. Pupil of Liberale. Influenced by Mantegna and Bonsignori and later by Raphael.

CARPACCIO, VITTORE (active 1478–1522). Venetian School. Born in Istria. Pupil of Lazzaro Bastiani; follower of Gentile Bellini. Later influenced by Giovanni Bellini. Active in Venice and the vicinity.

CARRACCI, AGOSTINO (1557–1602). School of Bologna. Born at Bologna, died at Parma. Older brother of Annibale. Engraver and painter. Influenced by art of Correggio. Studied under Fontana, Tibaldi, and Cort; also at Parma and Venice. After his return to Bologna 1589 became head of the Carracci School. Worked in Rome with his brother Annibale.

CARRACCI, ANNIBALE (1560–1609). School of Bologna. Born at Bologna, died at Rome. Associated with Ludovico in the Academy, Bologna. Influenced by Correggio and Veronese, later by works in Rome. Important fresco decorations for Cardinal Farnese, Farnese Palace, Rome. Important influence as a landscape painter.

CARRACCI, LUDOVICO (1555–1619). School of Bologna. Pupil of Fontana and later of Tintoretto. Founder of the Carracci Academy at Bologna, conducted with the assistance of his cousins Agostino and Annibale. After 1600 directed the work himself.

CASTAGNO, ANDREA DEL (ca. 1397–1457) (Andrea de Bartolommeo di Simone). Florentine School. Born near Florence where his life was spent. Influenced by Donatello and Masaccio. Possibly visited and worked in Venice.

CAVALLINI, PIETRO (fl. 1250–1330). Roman School. Painter and mosaicist. Worked in many churches in Rome and Naples.

CENNINI, CENNINO DI DREA (ca. 1370–). Florentine School. Born at Colle di Val d'Elsa. Pupil of A. Gaddi. Greater importance as author of the treatise on painting than as a painter.

CIMA (ca. 1460–1517) (Giambattista da Conegliano). Venetian School. Apprenticed to Montagna, influenced by Alvise Vivarini and Giovanni Bellini.

CIMABUE (ca. 1240?–1301) (Cenni di Pepo). Florentine School. Born in Florence. Perhaps trained in the Roman tradition. Worked in Rome and Florence.

CORREGGIO (1494–1534) (Antonio Allegri). School of Parma. Brought up in tradition of the school of Ferrara-Bologna. Influenced by works of Costa, Dossi, and Mantegna. Important decorations in Parma.

COSSA, FRANCESCO (ca. 1435–1480). School of Ferrara. Follower of Tura, influenced by Piero della Francesca. 1456 working in the Schifanoia palace. Ferrara. 1470 removed to Bologna.

COSTA, LORENZO (1460–1535). School of Ferrara-Bologna. Probably studied, under Tura and Cossa. 1483 established at Bologna as Francia's partner. Went to Mantua 1509, as court painter of Francesco Gonzaga.

CREDI, LORENZO DI (1459–1537). Florentine School. Born in Florence. Pupil of Verrocchio, fellow pupil of Leonardo and Perugino. Influenced by Savonarola. Active in Pistoia and Florence where he died.

CRIVELLI, CARLO (ca. 1450–ca. 1493). Venetian School. Trained under Antonio da Murano and Squarcione. About 1468 settled at Ascoli and worked in that neighbourhood during the rest of his life; knighted 1489.

DADDI, BERNARDO DI DADDI DI SIMONE (ca. 1280–1348) (Bernardus de Florentia). Florentine School. Three signed paintings remain. Sienese influence is predominant in his work.

DOMENICHINO (1581–1641) (Domenico Zampieri). School of Bologna. Product of Carracci's School. Assisted Annibale Carracci in Rome. Worked in Bologna, Rome, and Naples where he died.

DOMENICO VENEZIANO (ca. 1400–1461) (Domenico di Bartolommeo da Venezia). Florentine School. Possibly Venetian by birth. Active in Florence, also in Perugia (1435), Loreto, and Rimini. Master of Piero della Francesca. Died in Florence.

DOSSI, DOSSO GIOVANNI LUTERO (1479–1541). School of Ferrara. Pupil of Costa. Developed under the influence of Giorgione and Titian. In Mantua 1511–1512. Later at Ferrara and Modena.

DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA (ca. 1260–1319). Sienese School. Painted a picture for S. M. Novella, Florence, 1285. Great altar-piece for the cathedral, Siena, painted 1308–1311.

FIORENZO DI LORENZO (1440–1521). Umbrian School. Born in Perugia where he studied under Bonfigli. Influenced by Gozzoli, Pollajuolo and Verrocchio. Reputed master of Perugino and Pinturicchio.

FOPPA, VINCENZO (ca. 1427–1502). Founder of Milanese school. Studied under Squarcione at Padua. Influenced later by Bramante.

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO (1439–1502). Sienese School. Military and civil architect, painter, and sculptor. Pupil of Vecchietta, influenced by Pollajuolo. Painted chiefly between 1469–1477. Partner of Neroccio di Landi.

FRANCIA (1450–1517) (Francesco Raibolini). School of Bologna. Apprenticed to a goldsmith from whom he took his name (Francia). Began as metal worker and medallist, commenced painting after 1484.

FUNGAI, BERNARDINO (1460–1516). Sienese School. Born at Siena where he died. Pupil of Giovanni di Paolo. Influenced by Umbrian painters.

GADDI, AGNOLO (ca. 1333–1396). Florentine School. Year of birth unknown. Pupil of his father, Taddeo, and others. Active chiefly in Florence.

GADDI, TADDEO (ca. 1300–1366). Florentine School. Pupil of his father Gaddo Gaddi, and of Giotto whom he assisted. Influenced by Daddi. Active chiefly in Florence.

GATTA, BARTOLOMMEO DELLA (1448–1491?) (true name Piero d'Antonio Dei). Florentine School, assistant of Signorelli. 1481 working in the Sistine Chapel as assistant to Signorelli and Perugino. Architect and painter.

GENTILE DA FABRIANO (1360–1427). Umbrian School. Born in Fabriano. Worked in Venice, Brescia, Florence, and (1427) Rome, where he died. Exercised an important influence. "The one great Umbrian of the Middle Ages."

GHIRLANDAJO (1449–1494) (Domenico di Tommaso Bigordi). Florentine School. Born and died in Florence. Apprenticed to a goldsmith from whose garlands (ghirlandi) he was probably nicknamed. Later worked with Baldovinetti. An expert fresco painter, worked in mosaic also. Early frescos in San Gimignano, called to Rome 1481 to paint in Sistine Chapel.

GIORGIONE (1478–1510) (Giorgio Barbarelli). Venetian School. Pupil of Giovanni Bellini. Active chiefly in Venice, died there of the plague. A powerful influence upon art.

GIOTTINO (second half of fourteenth century). Florentine School. Identity uncertain. A nickname given to several of Giotto's followers. Identified here with author of the St. Silvestro series, S. Croce, Florence.

GIOTTO (1266–1336) (Giotto di Bondone). Florentine School. Born in Colle (near Florence), died in Florence. Tuscan and possibly Roman training. Active throughout Italy and perhaps in France. Painted in Florence, Rome (1290–1300), Padua (1305/6), Assisi (?), Verona, Ferrara, Ravenna, Avignon (?), and Naples. Designed the campanile of the cathedral, Florence. Painter and architect.

GIROLAMO DAI LIBRI (1474–1556). School of Verona. Brought up as an illuminator. Worked under Domenico Morone; influenced by Mantegna and Montagna.

GOZZOLI, BENOZZO (1420–1498) (Benozzo di Lesi di Sandro). Florentine School. Born in Florence, assisted Angelico in Rome and Orvieto 1447. Worked in Montefalco 1449–1455, Florence 1459–1462, San Gimignano 1463–1468?, Pisa 1469–1485? where he died.

GUARDI, FRANCESCO (1712–1793). Venetian School. Pupil of Canaletto. Painted chiefly views of Venice.

GUARIENTO, RIDOLFO (fl. second half of fourteenth century). Paduan School. Worked in Padua and in the Ducal Palace in Venice.

LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519). Florentine School. Born at Vinci, apprenticed to Verrocchio ca. 1467. In Florence until 1481, Milan until 1499, Venice 1500, Florence 1501. Engineer to Cæsar Borgia; Milan 1507; Rome 1513–1515. Died in France where he went at the invitation of Francis I. Founded the Milanese school of the sixteenth century. Architect, sculptor, painter, and scientist.

LIBERALE DA VERONA (1451–1536). School of Verona. Born at Verona. Pupil of Vincenzio di Stefano. Began as a miniaturist, working in Monte Oliveto near Siena, later in Verona.

LIPPI, FILIPPINO (1457–1504). Florentine School. Born at Florence. Son of Filippo Lippi, pupil of Fra Diamanti and of Botticelli. Active chiefly in Florence, occasionally in Rome and elsewhere.

LIPPI, FRA FILIPPO (1406?–1469). Florentine School. Born in Florence. Placed in convent of S. M. del Carmine as a child. Later released from vows and married to Lucrezia Buti. Pupil perhaps of Lorenzo Monaco; influenced by Masaccio and Angelico. Active in Florence, Padua 1434, Prato 1454–1465, and in Spoleto 1467, where he died.

LORENZETTI, AMBROZIO (fl. 1323–1346?). Sienese School. Worked with his elder brother Pietro. Most famous works the frescos in Palazzo Pubblico, Siena. Not mentioned after 1345.

LORENZETTI, PIETRO (fl. 1305–1348). Sienese School. Elder brother of Ambrozio Lorenzetti. Influenced by Duccio, Simone Martini and Giovanni Pisano. Frescos in Siena and Assisi.

LORENZO IL MONACO (DON) (ca. 1370?–1425?). Florentine School. Follower of Agnolo Gaddi and of the Sienese. Active in Florence. Took the vow in monastery of S. M. degli Angeli, Florence, 1391.

LORENZO DA SAN SEVERINO (active 1400–1416). Umbrian School. Influenced by Gentile da Fabriano. Active with his brother Jacopo in the town of San Severino.

LOTTO, LORENZO (1480–1556). Venetian School. Pupil of Alvise Vivarini. Active in Treviso, Recamate, Bergamo, and Loreto. From 1508–1512 worked in the Vatican.

LUINI, BERNARDINO (ca. 1475–ca. 1531). Milanese School. Pupil probably of Borgognone, influenced by Bramantino and Leonardo. Milanese characteristics reached their height in his easy and gracious style.

MANTEGNA, ANDREA (1431–1506). Paduan School. Born at Vicenza; pupil and adopted son of Squarcione. Worked in Padua until 1460. Court painter for Gonzaga family of Mantua from 1460 until his death. Worked also in Verona, Florence, and Rome; knighted 1488.

MARTINI, SIMONE (ca. 1285–1344). Sienese School. Active in Siena, Assisi, Naples, and other Italian cities. After 1339 in Avignon where he died. Exerted strong influence on French painting.

MASACCIO (1401–1428) (Maso di Ser Giovanni di Moni Guidi). Florentine School. Possibly a pupil of Masolino. Worked in Florence and in Rome, where he died.

MASOLINO (ca. 1384–ca. 1440) (Tommaso di Cristoforo Fini). Florentine School. Probably pupil of Starnina. Sent by Filippo Scolari (Pippo Spano) to execute work in Hungary. Employed in Rome and in north Italy by Cardinal Branda Castiglione.

MATTEO DI GIOVANNI (1435–1495). Sienese School. Born in Borgo San Sepolcro. Influenced by Piero della Francesca and Sienese painters. Many works in Siena.

MELOZZO DA FORLI (1438–1494). Umbrian School. Born at Forli, pupil of Piero della Francesca. Student of perspective. Worked in Rome, Urbino, Loreto.

MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (1475–1564). Florentine School. Born at Castel Caprese. Apprenticed for three years to Ghirlandajo. Studied sculpture in the Medici gardens. Shows influence of Donatello and J. della Quercia. Sculptor, painter, architect, patriot. Sistine ceiling 1508–1512. "Last Judgment," 1534–1541. Tombs of Medici, San Lorenzo 1524–1536. Architect of St. Peter's 1547. Influenced by Dante and Savonarola.

MONTAGNA, BARTOLOMMEO (1450–ca. 1523). School of Vicenza. Perhaps a pupil of Alvise Vivarini. Influenced by Padua and the Bellini. Founder of the school of Vicenza.

MORETTO, IL (ca. 1498–ca. 1554) (Alessandro Bonvicino). Brescian School. Born at Brescia, pupil and assistant of Ferramola; influenced by Titian, Raphael, and Brescian painters. Worked in Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, and Verona.

MORONE, DOMENICO (1442–ca. 1503). School of Verona. Born at Verona. Pupil of Benaglio; influenced by Mantegna and the Bellini.

MORONI, Giovanni Battista (ca. 1520–1578). Brescian School. Studied under Moretto in Brescia. Influenced by Lotto. Resided mainly at Bergamo.

NELLI, OTTAVIANO (ca. 1400–1444). Gubbian School. Continued miniature style. Worked in Gubbio, in Urbino (1420) and Foligno. Chief representative of the local school.

NEROCCIO DI LANDI (1447–1500). Sienese School. "Has been called Simone born again." Partner of Francesco di Giorgio. Active in Siena.

NICOLA DA FOLIGNO (1430–1502). Umbrian School. Born in Foligno, pupil of local painters. Work shows influence of Benozzo Gozzoli, later of Crivelli. Intense quality in late work.

NUZI, ALLEGRETTO (active 1346–1373). Umbrian School. Born in the Marches. Pupil of Daddi. Carried Sienese influence to Umbria. Master of Gentile da Fabriano.

ORCAGNA, ANDREA (1308?–1368) (Andrea di Cione). Florentine School. Pupil of Andrea Pisano. Sculptor, painter, architect. Belonged to a family of artists. Brothers Nardo and Jacopo di Cione also painters. Active in Florence.

PALMA VECCHIO (1480–1528) (Giacomo Negretti, known as Giacomo Palma, later as Palma Vecchio). Venetian School. Born near Bergamo. Pupil of Giovanni Bellini, influenced by Giorgione. Worked in Bergamo and Venice.

PERUGINO (1446–1523) (Pietro di Cristoforo Vannucci). Umbrian School. Born at Città della Pieve, died at Fontignano, near Perugia. Early training in Perugia. Influenced at first by Nicola da Foligno, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Piero della Francesca, and later by Verrocchio. Worked in the Vatican 1481. Great popularity. Active throughout Italy.

PESELLINO, FRANCESCO (1422–1457). Real name Francesco di Stefano. Florentine School. Possibly pupil of his grandfather Giuliano Pesello; follower of Fra Filippo and Masaccio.

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA (1416?–1492). Umbrian School. Born at Borgo San Sepolcro. Worked under Domenico Veneziano and influenced by Paolo Uccello in Florence. Active in various cities. Important frescos Arezzo. One of the greatest mathematicians of his age.

PIERO DI COSIMO (1462–1521) (real name Piero di Lorenzo). Florentine School. Pupil of Cosimo Rosselli from whom he is named. Influenced by his greater contemporaries. Chief activity in Florence. Worked in the Sistine Chapel 1481.

PINTURICCHIO, BERNARDINO (1454–1513) (Bernardino di Betto). Umbrian School. Born at Perugia, died at Siena. Pupil of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo in Perugia. Influenced by Perugino and Signorelli. Active in Rome, Perugia, Siena, and elsewhere.

PIOMBO, SEBASTIAN DEL (ca. 1485–1547) (Sebastian Luciani). Venetian School. Pupil of Giovanni Bellini, Cima, and Giorgione. Afterwards influenced by Michelangelo in Rome (1510). Appointed Frate del Piombo 1531 and held the office until his death.

PISANO, VITTORE or ANTONIO (ca. 1385–1455) (called Pisanello). School of Verona. A famous medallist. As painter, influenced by Stefano da Zevio and Gentile da Fabriano. Worked in Venice, Mantua, Rome, Verona, Ferrara, Naples, and elsewhere.

POLLAJUOLO, ANTONIO (1429–1498). Florentine School. Influenced by Donatello, Castagno, and Baldovinetti: anatomist, goldsmith, sculptor, painter, and engraver. Worked in Florence and in Rome where he died.

PONTORMO (1494–1536) (Jacopo Carruccio). Florentine School. Born at Pontormo. Pupil of Andrea del Sarto in Florence. Influenced by Michelangelo.

PREDIS, AMBROZIO DA (fl. 1482–1506). Milanese School. Formed under the influence of Foppa and of Leonardo da Vinci whom he assisted. Attached to the Sforza house.

PRIMATICCIO (1504–1570). School of Bologna. Born at Bologna. Assistant of Giulio Romano in Mantua. Invited to Fontainebleau by Francis I. Eventually replaced Il Rosso and became Commissary General of Public Buildings. Considerable influence on French art. He was later created Abbot of St. Martin.

RAPHAEL SANZIO (1483–1520) (Raffaello Santi, later Sanzio). Umbrian School. Born at Urbino, died at Rome. Pupil of his father and Timoteo Viti in Urbino, of Perugino in Perugia. In Florence (1504) felt the influence of Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Bartolommeo. In 1508 called to Rome by Julius II. Decorated the Vatican. Made architect of St. Peter's 1514. Died of the plague.

RENI, GUIDO (1575–1642). School of Bologna. Studied under Calvert and Carracci. Visited Rome. Influenced by Caravaggio. Worked in Bologna, Rome, and Naples.

ROMANINO, GIROLAMO (1485/6–1566). School of Brescia. Born in Brescia. Pupil of Ferramola. Influenced by Giorgione, Titian, Savoldo, and Lotto.

ROMANO, GIULIO (1492?–1546) (Giulio Peppi). Roman School. Born at Rome. Pupil of Raphael, influenced by Michelangelo. Completed Raphael's work in the Vatican 1520–1523. In the service of the duke of Mantua, 1524. Died at Mantua.

ROSSELLI, COSIMO (1439–1507). Florentine School. Pupil of Neri di Bicci. Influenced by Benozzo Gozzoli and Baldovinetti. Active at Florence, Lucca, and Rome where he worked in the Sistine Chapel.

ROSSO, IL (1494–1541) (Giovambattista). In France called Maître Roux. Florentine School, later Fontainbleau School. Assisted Andrea del Sarto in Santa Annunziata. Influenced by Pontormo and Michelangelo. Called to Fontainebleau by Francis I where he superintended decoration of the palace. Died in France.

SALVIATI, FRANCESCO DE' (1510–1563) (real name Francesco de' Rossi). Florentine School. Mannerist and eclectic. A friend of Vasari and allied to him in style. He was employed in the decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican.

SANO DI PIETRO DI MENICO (1406–1481). Sienese School. Born and died at Siena. Influenced by Taddeo di Bartolo and by Sassetta.

SANTI, GIOVANNI (1430–1494). Umbrian School. Urbino. Imitator of Justus von Ghent. Father of Raphael. Wrote rhymed chronicle in praise of Federigo Montefeltro.

SARTO, ANDREA DEL (1486–1531) (Andrea d'Agnolo, called del Sarto). Florentine School. Born at Florence, pupil of Piero di Cosimo. Influenced by Bartolommeo and Leonardo. Visited France (1518–1519) at the invitation of Francis I. Returned to Florence 1519, where he died.

SASSETTA (1392–1450) (Stefano di Giovanni). Sienese School. Developed under Sienese masters; influenced by Simone Martini. Earliest dated altar-piece 1436.

SAVOLDO, GIOVANNI GIROLAMO (ca. 1480–1548). Brescian School. Born at Brescia. Possibly pupil of Francesco Bonsignori, influenced by Bellini, Giorgione, Palma, and Lotto.

SIGNORELLI, LUCA (1441–1523). Umbrian School. Born at Cortona: pupil of Piero della Francesca in Arezzo: influenced by Pollajuolo. Worked in Arezzo, Città da Castello, Rome, Orvieto, and Cortona where he held important civic offices. A man of power and influence.

SODOMA (1477–1549) (Giovanni Antonio Bazzi). School of Vercelli. Pupil of Spanzotti but practically formed by Leonardo. Influenced by Bartolommeo and Raphael. Worked in many places, settling in Siena about 1501.

SOLARIO, ANDREA (1465?–after 1515). Milanese School. Born at Milan. Went to Venice 1490; influenced by Antonello da Messina and Alvise Vivarini; returned to Milan 1493; influenced by Leonardo.

SPINELLO ARETINO (ca. 1330–1410) (Spinello di Luca Spinelli). Florentine School. Apprenticed to Jacopo del Casentino. Active in Florence, Arezzo, and Siena.

SQUARCIONE, FRANCESCO (1394–1474). Paduan School. Tailor and embroiderer at first. Later influenced by the antique and by Donatello. Travelled extensively and collected antiques. Returning to Padua he founded a prosperous school.

STEFANO DA ZEVIO (ca. 1393–1451). School of Verona. Follower of Pisanello and of Gentile da Fabriano.

TADDEO DI BARTOLO (1362–1422). Sienese School. Worked in many parts of Italy. Influence widespread.

TIBALDI (ca. 1527–1596) (Pellegrino Pellegrini). School of Bologna. Born at Bologna. Influenced by Michelangelo whom he studied in Sistine Chapel. Architect and painter. Transplanted the Roman style to Spain.

TIEPOLO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (1696–1770). Venetian School. Pupil of Gregorio Lazzarini. Influenced by Veronese. Until 1740 in Venice and North Italy. 1750 went to Würzburg. Returned to Venice and 1755 became director of Venetian Academy. 1762 went to Madrid where he died.

TINTORETTO, IL (1518–1592) (Jacopo Robusti). Venetian School. Pupil of Titian. Influenced by Michelangelo and Parmigianino.

TITIAN (1477–1576) (Tiziano Vecellio). Venetian School. Born at Pieve di Cadore. Pupil of Giovanni Bellini; influenced by Giorgione. Worked for the duke of Mantua, for Paul III, Charles V, and Philip II. 1548 visited Augsburg.

TORBIDO, FRANCESCO (ca. 1486–1546). School of Verona. Pupil of Liberale; influenced by Giorgione, Titian, and Giulio Romano.

TURA, COSIMO (1430–1495). School of Ferrara. Studied with Squarcione in Padua. Influenced by Donatello. After 1451 employed by the dukes of Ferrara, probably worked with Cossa upon the decorations in the Schifanoia Palace, Ferrara (ca. 1470).

UCCELLO, PAOLO (1397–1475) (Paolo di Dono). Florentine School. Born in Florence. Trained as goldsmith. Assisted Ghiberti with his first door for the Baptistry. Chief activity in Florence where he died. Worked in stained glass and mosaic.

VASARI, GIORGIO (1512–1574). Florentine School. Born at Arezzo. Painter, architect, writer, mannerist. 1550 published his great work, "Lives of the Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects." About 1523 in Florence under influence of Michelangelo. Travelled in Italy, finally settled in Florence under Cosimo I.

VECCHIETTA (1412–1480) (Lorenzo di Pietro). Sienese School. Architect, sculptor, painter, and teacher. Influenced by Sassetta and by Donatello.

VERONESE, PAOLO (1528–1588) (Paolo Calieri). Venetian School. Born at Verona; apprenticed to Antonio Badile (1542). Worked for the Soranzi family near Castelfranco, in Mantua, and in Rome. Died in Venice.

VERROCCHIO, ANDREA DEL (1435–1488) (Andrea di Michele di Francesco de' Cioni). Florentine School. Pupil of goldsmith, Giulio de' Verrocchi, of Donatello, and of Baldovinetti. Great sculptor as well as painter. Died in Venice.

VIVARINI, ALVISE (fl. ca. 1461–1503). Venetian School. Son of Antonio da Murano, nephew of Bartolommeo Vivarini and probably his pupil. Influenced by the school of Padua and by Giovanni Bellini.

VIVARINI, ANTONIO (fl. ca. 1440–1470) (Antonio da Murano). Venetian School. Partner first of Giovanni Alamano, after 1450 of B. Vivarini. Influenced by G. da Fabriano and by Pisanello. Active in Venice and Padua.

VIVARINI, BARTOLOMMEO (ca. 1431–1499). Venetian School. Younger brother of Antonio Vivarini and probably his assistant. Influenced by Squarcione. Active in Venice.

VITI, TIMOTEO (1467–1524). School of Ferrara-Bologna. Pupil of Costa and Francia.

SPANISH SCHOOL

CANO, ALONSO (1601–1667). Born in Granada. Pupil of Pacheco, Juan de Castillo, and in sculpture of Juan Martinez Mantañez. Active in Seville, Madrid, and Granada where he died.

COELLO, SANCHEZ (1515–1590). Born near Valencia, died in Madrid. Pupil of Antonio Moro. Court painter to Philip II. Active in Lisbon and Madrid.

FORTUNY, MARIANO (1838–1874). Born in Catalonia, died in Italy. Studied in the Academy of Barcelona and in Rome. Travelled in Morocco and the East.

GOYA Y LUCIENTES, FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE (1746–1828). Born at Fuentetodos in Aragon. Pupil of José Martinez in Saragossa; studied at Rome. Settled in Madrid. Director of San Fernando Academy and court painter. Visited Paris 1824. In 1825 settled at Bordeaux where he died. Painter and etcher.

GRECO, DOMENICO THEOTOCOPULI (called El Greco) (1545–1614). Born in Candia, Crete. In Italy visited Venice and Rome, pupil of Titian, influenced by Tintoretto and the Bassani. Settled in Toledo shortly before 1577. His house still remains in Toledo.

HERRERA, FRANCISCO DE, THE ELDER (1576–1656). Born in Seville. Pupil of Fernandez, a violent, unmanageable temper. Later moved to Madrid (1650) where he held an important position until his death.

MORALES, LUIS (1509?–1586) (called Il Divino). Born and died at Badajoz. His master not known, formed his style on the study of Italian masters. Painted religious subjects exclusively. Many pictures wrongly attributed to him.

MURILLO, BARTOLOMÉ ESTÉBAN (1617–1682). Born at Seville, taught by Juan de Castillo. About 1642 went to Madrid. Influenced by Velazquez, works of Ribera, Rubens, and van Dyck. Returned to Seville after 1644 where in 1660 he established a public academy of art. His most important paintings are still in Seville.

PACHECO, FRANCISCO (1571–1654). Born and died at Seville. Pupil of Luis Fernandez. In Madrid 1611, returned to Seville and opened a school of painting where Velazquez was his pupil. In Madrid 1623–1625. Returning to Seville he devoted himself largely to literature. In 1649 he published a treatise on painting.

PICASSO, PABLO (1881–). Born at Malaga. Identified with the modern French School. His painting has passed through many phases, notably Cubism.

RIBALTA, FRANCISCO (ca. 1550–1628). Studied in Valencia and in Italy. Influenced by the Carracci, Raphael, and Sebastiano del Piombo. Died at Valencia.

RIBERA, JUSEPE DE (1589–1652) (called Lo Spagnoletto). Born near Valencia, died near Naples. Pupil of Ribalta at Valencia and Rome. Travelled in Italy. Influenced by Caravaggio and other Italian masters. Member of the Academy of St. Luke at Rome 1630. Worked chiefly in Naples where he died. Painter and etcher.

ROÉLAS, JUAN DE LA ROÉLAS (ca. 1558–1625). Born of Flemish parents in Seville. Formed under the influence of Venetian painting. After an Italian sojourn generally active in Seville.

SOROLLA Y BASTIDA, JOAQUIN (1863–1923). Born at Valencia. Pupil of San Carlos Academy in Valencia. Travelled in France and Italy. Worked in Italy for two years.

VALDES DE LEAL, JUAN DE (1630–1691). Born at Cordoba. Pupil of A. del Castillo, influenced by Murillo. Worked and died in Seville.

VELAZQUEZ, DIEGO RODRIGUEZ DE SILVA Y (1599–1660). Born at Seville. Studied with Herrara and with Pacheco whose daughter he married. Visited Madrid 1622 and became court painter to Philip IV, 1625. Visited Italy 1629–1631, again in 1649–1651. Managed the betrothal ceremonies of Louis XIV to the Infanta Maria Teresa 1660. Died at Madrid.

ZULOAGA, IGNACIO (1870–). Born at Eibar. Worked without a master, later worked four years in Paris. Has divided his life between his native town and Paris.

ZURBARAN, FRANCISCO DE (1598–1662). Pupil of Juan de las Roélas, Seville; influenced by Caravaggio. In 1650 moved to Madrid where he died.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF PAINTINGS

The following list is intended as a suggestion for those desiring a more complete illustration of any phase of the subject. In no case is it to be regarded as a complete or a wholly representative selection of the artist's work. Examples marked with an asterisk indicate paintings reproduced in the University Prints (Newton, Mass.).

In cases where the name of the city only is given, the principal gallery is understood, as: Berlin: Kaiser-Friedrich Museum; London: The National Gallery; Paris: The Louvre.

CHAPTER I

CLASSICAL PAINTING: NAPLES, * Finding of Telephus. NEW YORK, Lady and Maid; View with Summer House; Portrait from Fayoum.

CHRISTIAN MOSAICS: RAVENNA, San Vitale, * Justinian and Followers; Theodora: detail of heads. ROME, Santa Maria in Trastevere, * Apse; Santa Pudenziana, * Apse: details.

CAVALLINI: ROME, Santa Maria in Trastevere, * Birth of the Virgin.

MEDIEVAL PAINTING: ROME, San Clemente, Lower Church, ninth century frescos. REVIVAL: ASSISI, Upper Church of St. Francis, ISAAC MASTER: Betrayal of Esau. LONDON, MARGARITONE, * Madonna and Child. For types of Gothic altar-piece see FLORENCE, Uffizi, DADDI, Polyptych. SIENA, San Stefano, VANNI, Polyptych.

CHAPTER II

DUCCIO: SIENA, Madonna Enthroned, No. 20; Cathedral Museum, Maestà: detail of Virgin and Child, Head of St. Catherine; Entry into Jerusalem; Descent from the Cross; Three Marys at the Tomb; Annunciation of the Virgin's Death.

SCULPTURE: NICOLA PISANO, PISA, Baptistry, * Pulpit. SIENA, Cathedral, * Pulpit.

GIOVANNI PISANO: PISTOIA, San Andrea, Pulpit.

CHAPTER III

GIOTTO: ASSISI, Upper Church of St. Francis, * St. Francis Preaching to the Birds. FLORENCE, Santa Croce, * St. Francis before the Sultan; Stigmata; * Feast of Herod; St. John Raising Drusiana; * Ascension of St. John; Uffizi, * Madonna Enthroned. PADUA, Arena Chapel, * view of interior; Joachim in the Sheep Fold; * Presentation of Virgin; * Virgin of Annunciation; Visitation; Virgin Returning after her Marriage; Entry into Jerusalem; Christ Cleansing the Temple; * Raising of Lazarus; Betrayal: detail, heads of Christ and Judas; * Pietà; * Envy. ROME, St. Peter's, Sacristy (formerly), Stefaneschi Altar-piece.

SIMONE MARTINI: ASSISI, Lower Church of St. Francis, St. Martin Armed with the Cross; St. Martin in a Trance; Single Figures of St. Catherine and St. Clara. BERLIN, Passion Scene. CAMBRIDGE, Fogg Museum, Crucifixion. NAPLES, San Lorenzo, Crowning of King Robert. SIENA, Palazzo Pubblico, Madonna Enthroned: detail of central figure.

AMBROZIO LORENZETTI: MASSA MARITTIMA, Madonna Enthroned. SIENA, Madonna Enthroned; Annunciation. Palazzo Pubblico, Good Government in the City: details; Government in the Country: details; * Figure of Peace. Church of St. Francis, Seminary, Madonna del Latte.

PIETRO LORENZETTI: ASSISI, Lower Church of St. Francis, * Madonna and Child; Last Supper. NEW YORK, St. Catherine. SIENA, Church of St. Francis, Crucifixion.

CHAPTER IV

GIOTTO, FOLLOWER OF: ASSISI, Lower Church of St. Francis, The Vow of Poverty.

GIOTTINO: FLORENCE, Santa Croce, San Silvestro Stopping the Mouth of the Dragon; Uffizi, Pietà.

TADDEO GADDI: FLORENCE, Santa Croce, Message of the Angels. NEW YORK, Altar-piece, Madonna and Saints.

DADDI: NEW YORK, Historical Society Museum, Diptych.

LORENZO MONACO: FLORENCE, Santa Trinità, Bartolini Chapel, Altar-piece; Annunciation; Frescos: Life of the Virgin.

ORCAGNA: FLORENCE, Or San Michele, Tabernacle; Santa Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel, altar-piece; Frescos: Last Judgment: detail, Virgin; * Paradise.

SPINELLO ARETINO: NEW YORK, Mary Magdalen Enthroned.

LORENZETTI, UNKNOWN FOLLOWER OF: PISA, Campo Santo; * Triumph of Death, and details; * Last Judgment.

CHAPTER V

MASACCIO: FLORENCE, Santa Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel, * Tribute Money: details; St. Peter Giving Alms. Santa Maria Novella, Crucifixion. Uffizi, Madonna and St. Anne Enthroned. LONDON, Madonna Enthroned.

MASOLINO: CASTIGLIONE D'OLONA, Baptistry, Baptism. NAPLES, Founding of Santa Maria Maggiore. NEW YORK, Collection of Henry Goldman, Annunciation.

CHAPTER VI

ANGELICO: CORTONA, Church of Gesù, Predella, Visitation. FLORENCE, S. Marco, * View of Corridor showing Annunciation; Frescos: Madonna Enthroned with Saints; Transfiguration; * Christ and two Pilgrims; Panel Paintings: * Last Judgment; Flight into Egypt; Institution of the Sacrament; * Madonna of Linen Guild. LONDON, Predella, Paradise. MADRID, Annunciation. NEW YORK, Nativity. ROME, Vatican, St. Lawrence Distributing Alms.

BENOZZO GOZZOLI: MONTEFALCO, San Francesco, St. Francis Arranging the Crêche. FLORENCE, Riccardi Chapel, * Procession of the King, several views. PISA, Campo Santo, * Building the Tower of Babel. SAN GIMIGNANO, San Agostino, St. Augustine Taken to School.

CHAPTER VII

CASTAGNO: FLORENCE, San Apollonia, Crucifixion; * Farinata; Queen Thomyris. NEW YORK, Collection of J. P. Morgan, Portrait of a Man.

UCCELLO: FLORENCE, Santa Maria Novella, Green Cloisters; Deluge; Uffizi, Battle; Drawing of a head.

DOMENICO VENEZIANO: BERLIN, Predella, St. Lucy; Portrait of a Lady. FLORENCE, Uffizi, Madonna Enthroned. LONDON, Madonna Enthroned.

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI: FLORENCE, Pitti, * Madonna. Uffizi, * Coronation; Predella, Annunciation of Virgin's Death. LONDON, * Annunciation. PRATO, Duomo, * Feast of Herod. RICHMOND, Collection of Sir Francis Cook, Adoration of the Kings.

CHAPTER VIII

SIENESE PAINTERS:

BENVENUTO DI GIOVANNI: NEW YORK, Assumption.

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO: SIENA, San Domenico, Nativity.

GIOVANNI DI PAOLO: NEW YORK, Paradise.

MATTEO DI GIOVANNI: SIENA, San Domenico, St. Barbara Enthroned; Madonna delle Neve; Madonna and Saints. SERVI, Massacre of the Innocents.

SASSETTA: CHANTILLY, Marriage of St. Francis. NEW HAVEN, Jarvis Collection, Yale, Temptation of St. Anthony. SETTIGNANO, Collection of Mr. Berenson, St. Francis in Ecstasy.

SANO DI PIETRO: SIENA, Madonna and Saints.

TADDEO DI BARTOLO: SIENA, Palazzo Pubblico, Death of the Virgin.

UMBRIAN PAINTERS:

GENTILE DA FABRIANO: FLORENCE, Uffizi, Predella, Flight into Egypt. NEW HAVEN, Jarvis Collection, Yale, * Madonna and Child.

UMBRO-FLORENTINE PAINTERS:

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: AREZZO, San Francesco, Battle of Maxentius; Battle and Death of Chosroes; Carrying Wood of the Cross. FLORENCE, Uffizi, * Portraits of Duke and Duchess of Urbino. NEW YORK, Collection of Carl W. Hamilton, Crucifixion.

MELOZZO DA FORLI: LORETO, Santa Casa, Sacristy, Cupola. ROME, Vatican, * Angels.

SIGNORELLI: BERLIN, * Portrait of a Man. CORTONA, Duomo, Communion of the Apostles. FLORENCE, Uffizi, Madonna and Child (Tondo). LORETO, Santa Casa, Christ and the Apostles. ORVIETO, Duomo, * Condemned; * Redeemed; End of the World. UMBERTIDE, Santa Croce, Descent from the Cross.

FLORENTINE PAINTER:

ANTONIO POLLAJUOLO: LONDON, Martyrdom of St. Sebastian; Apollo and Daphne. NEW HAVEN, Jarvis Collection, Yale, Heracles and Nessus.

CHAPTER IX

PERUGINO: FLORENCE, Pitti, * Pietà; Uffizi, Portrait of Francesco dell' Opere; Portrait of Dom Balthazar. LONDON, Triptych (Certosa) * Madonna. PARIS, Virtues and Vices. PERUGIA, * Cambio frescos. ROME, Madonna and Saints. LENINGRAD, Triptych Crucifixion, "Galazine Raphael."

PINTURICCHIO: NEW YORK, Ceiling from Petrucci Palace, Siena. ROME, Aracoeli, Death of San Bernardino. Vatican, Borgia Apartments, St. Catherine disputing; Resurrection. Sistine Chapel, Baptism. SIENA, Duomo, Knight of Malta; Library, * frescos.

CHAPTER X

BOTTICELLI: FLORENCE, Ognissanti, St. Augustine. Uffizi, * Pallas; * Judith; * Calumny; * Adoration of Kings; Madonna with the Pomegranate; * Magnificat; Man with the Medallion. LONDON, Mars and Venus; Nativity of 1500. PARIS, * Villa Lemmi Frescos.

GHIRLANDAJO: FLORENCE, Ognissanti, St. Jerome. Santa Maria Novella, Birth of the Virgin. Santa Trinità, * Death of St. Francis. Uffizi, Madonna Enthroned.

FILIPPINO LIPPI: FLORENCE, Palazzo Corsini, Madonna and Angels (Tondo). Santa Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel, Death of St. Peter. Santa Maria Novella, * Raising of Drusiana. ROME, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Miracle of the Crucifix.

BALDOVINETTI: FLORENCE, Uffizi, Madonna Enthroned. San Miniato, Annunciation.

CHAPTER XI

VERROCCHIO: FLORENCE, Uffizi, * Baptism and details.

LEONARDO: FLORENCE, Uffizi, * Adoration: details. MILAN, * Last Supper: details. PARIS, * Virgin and St. Anne; * Annunciation. Paintings should be supplemented by * reproductions of drawings.

AMBROZIO DA PREDIS: NEW YORK, Girl with Cherries. LONDON, Madonna of the Rocks.

CHAPTER XII

RAPHAEL: DRESDEN, * Sistine Madonna. FLORENCE, Pitti, * Portrait of Leo X; Maddalena Doni; * Julius II. LONDON, * Vision of a Knight. South Kensington, * Cartoons for Tapestry, Miraculous Draught. MILAN, * Marriage of Virgin. NEW YORK, Colonna Madonna. ROME, Borghese, * Entombment. Vatican gallery, * Transfiguration. Stanza, * School of Athens; * Jurisprudence; Poetry (medallion); * Expulsion of Heliodorus. Farnesina, * Galatea.

GIULIO ROMANO: MANTUA, Palazzo del Te, Frescos, * Cupid and Psyche.

CHAPTER XIII

MICHELANGELO: FLORENCE, Uffizi, * Holy Family (Tondo). ROME, * Sistine Ceiling, additional details; * Last Judgment.

BARTOLOMMEO: LUCCA, Madonna of the Sanctuary; Madonna of Mercy. FLORENCE, Pitti, * Pietà; Resurrection. Academy (formerly), Portrait of Savonarola; Uffizi, Last Judgment. PARIS, Marriage of St. Catherine.

ANDREA DEL SARTO: FLORENCE, Santissima Annunziata, * Birth of the Virgin; * Madonna of the Sack. Pitti, * Annunciation. Uffizi, Madonna of the Harpies. LONDON, Portrait of a Sculptor.

PIERO DI COSIMO: LONDON, Death of Procris. NEW YORK, Hunting Scene.

LORENZO DI CREDI: FLORENCE, Uffizi, * Annunciation.

PONTORMO: LUCCA, Portrait of a Youth. ROME, Borghese, Cardinal Spannochi.

BRONZINO: FLORENCE, Pitti, Portrait of Duke Cosimo I. Uffizi, Eleonora of Toledo and Don Garcia; Lucrezia Panciatichi.

VASARI: FLORENCE, Uffizi, Lorenzo de' Medici.

CHAPTER XIV

ALTICHIERI: PADUA, Cappella di S. Giorgio, Frescos.

PISANELLO: PARIS, Portrait. VERONA, St. Anastasia; St. George and the Princess.

MANTEGNA: BERGAMO, Madonna. FLORENCE, Uffizi, * Triptych; * Drawing of Judith. HAMPTON COURT, * Cartoons; Triumph of Caesar. LONDON, Gethsemane. MADRID, Death of the Virgin. MANTUA, Castello, Return of the Cardinal; * Ceiling Decorations. PADUA, Eremitani, * St. James Blessing a Convert; Death of St. James. PARIS, St. Sebastian. VERONA, San Zeno, Madonna Enthroned. PHILADELPHIA, Widener Collection, Judith.

GUARIENTO: VENICE, Ducal Palace, Paradise.

SQUARCIONE: BERLIN, * Madonna.

CHAPTER XV

TURA: BERLIN, Madonna Enthroned with Saints. LONDON, * Madonna and Child Enthroned. PARIS, Pietà (lunette).

COSSA: BERLIN, Autumn. FERRARA, Palazzo Schifanoia, Fresco, Foot Race.

COSTA: LONDON, Madonna and Child Enthroned. PARIS, * Court of Isabella d'Este.

FRANCIA: LONDON, Madonna and St. Anne with Saints. MUNICH, Madonna in a Rose Garden. NEW YORK, Portrait of Federigo Gonzaga.

DOSSO DOSSI: NEW YORK, The Three Ages of Man. ROME, Borghese, * Circe.

FOPPA: MILAN, * St. Sebastian; Madonna and Saints.

LUINI: MILAN, * Burial of St. Catherine. SARONNO, Santa Maria dei Miracoli, * Frescos.

CORREGGIO: BERLIN, Leda. DRESDEN, * Madonna with St. Sebastian. FLORENCE, Uffizi, * Madonna and Angels. PARMA, * Madonna with Magdalen and St. Jerome. VIENNA, * Ganymede.

CHAPTER XVI

ANTONIO DA MURANO: VENICE, * Madonna Enthroned with Saints.

BARTOLOMMEO VIVARINI: ENGLEWOOD, N. J., Collection of D. F. Platt, Madonna Enthroned. NEW YORK, Collection of J. P. Morgan, Adoration. VENICE, Frari, Madonna and Four Saints.

ALVISE VIVARINI: BERLIN, * Madonna Enthroned with Six Saints.

CRIVELLI: BOSTON, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, St. George. LONDON, * Annunciation; * Polyptych. MILAN, * Madonna and Saints, 1482.

ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: ANTWERP, Crucifixion. DRESDEN, St. Sebastian. LONDON, Crucifixion; St. Jerome in his Study. NEW YORK, Portrait of a Man.

CHAPTER XVII

JACOPO BELLINI: LOVERE, Tadini Gallery, Madonna. PARIS, * Sketch Book. VENICE, Madonna.

GENTILE BELLINI: LONDON, * Portrait of Sultan Mohamet II. VENICE, Miracle of the True Cross.

GIOVANNI BELLINI: BERLIN, Pietà. FLORENCE, Uffizi, * Allegory. LONDON, Gethsemane. NAPLES, Transfiguration. NEW YORK, Frick Collection, St. Francis. Estate of T. M. Davis, Madonna. PESARO, S. Francesco, Coronation. PHILADELPHIA, Widener Collection, Bacchanal. VENICE, * Madonna with St. George and St. Paul.

CARPACCIO: NEW YORK, Meditation on the Passion. PARIS, St. Stephen Preaching. VENICE, * Presentation; * Story of St. Ursula. S. Giorgio degli Schiavone, * St. George and the Dragon.

CHAPTER XVIII

GIORGIONE: BERLIN, * Portrait. FLORENCE, Pitti, Concert. Uffizi, * Knight of Malta; * Trial of Moses. NEW YORK, Portrait of a Man. VENICE, S. Rocco, Christ Bearing Cross.

CHAPTER XIX

TITIAN: BOSTON, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Rape of Europa. DRESDEN, * Tribute Money. FLORENCE, Pitti, * Portrait of a Young Man. Uffizi, * Flora; Venus of Urbino. MADRID, Philip II. NAPLES, Paul III. NEW YORK, Portrait of Alfonzo d'Este. PARIS, * Entombment; * Crowning with Thorns. VENICE, * Presentation. Frari, * Assumption.

CHAPTER XX

PALMA VECCHIO: DRESDEN, * Three Sisters. PARIS, Adoration of the Shepherds. VENICE, Santa Maria Formosa, * St. Barbara. VIENNA, Violante.

SEBASTIAN DEL PIOMBO: LONDON, * Resurrection of Lazarus. NEW YORK, Christopher Columbus. VENICE, S. Giovanni Crisostomo, * St. Chrysostom Enthroned with Saints.

LOTTO: ASOLO, Parish Church, Assumption. BERGAMO, Marriage of St. Catherine. CAMBRIDGE, Fogg Museum, St. Peter Martyr. MILAN, * Portrait of an Old Man. ROME, Palazzo Rospigliosi, Triumph of Chastity.

MORETTO: BRESCIA, * Virgin and Child with St. Nicholas of Bari. LONDON, St. Bernardino. NEW YORK, Pietà. VIENNA, * St. Justina.

MORONI: LONDON, * Portrait of a Tailor. NEW YORK, Portrait of Bartolomeo Bongo. Estate of T. M. Davis, * Abbess.

TINTORETTO: LONDON, St. George and the Dragon; Origin of the Milky Way. NEW YORK, Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes. VENICE, * Miracle of St. Mark. Santa Maria dell' Orto, Martyrdom of St. Agnes. Scuola of S. Rocco, Moses Striking the Rock; St. Mary in Egypt.

CHAPTER XXI

VERONESE: DRESDEN, Madonna with the Cuccina Family. LONDON, Consecration of St. Nicholas. NEW YORK, Venus and Mars. PARIS, Supper at Emmaus. VENICE, Ducal Palace, Sala Grande, Ceiling; * Venice Enthroned.

AGOSTINO CARRACCI: BOLOGNA, * Last Communion of St. Jerome.

ANNIBALE CARRACCI: BOLOGNA, Madonna Enthroned. PARIS, Landscape; Mythology. ROME, Palazzo Doria, Landscapes.

LUDOVICO CARRACCI: BOLOGNA, Madonna degli Scalzi.

DOMENICHINO: ROME, Borghese, Diana Hunting. Vatican, * Last Communion of St. Jerome.

GUIDO RENI: ROME, Rospigliosi Casino, * Aurora. S. Trinità del Monte; St. Michael.

CARAVAGGIO: DRESDEN, * Card Sharpers. PARIS, * Death of the Virgin. ROME, Vatican, * Deposition from the Cross.

TIEPOLO: MILAN, Poldi-Pezzoli, * Madonna of the Rosary. NEW YORK, The Glorification of Francesco Barbaro, Ceiling Decoration. PARIS, Last Supper. WÜRZBURG, Palace, Mural Decorations.

CANALETTO: NEW YORK, The Piazzetta, Venice.

GUARDI: NEW YORK, The Rialto.

CHAPTER XXII

POL DE LIMBOURG: CHANTILLY, Très Riches Heures: February, April.

HUBERT VAN EYCK, ascribed to: MILAN, Trevulzio Collection, Book of Hours; Birth of St. John and Baptism of Christ. RICHMOND, Collection of Sir Francis Cook, * Three Marys at the Sepulchre.

VAN EYCK BROTHERS: GHENT, St. Bavon, altar-piece, * complete series of photographs.

JAN VAN EYCK: ANTWERP, * St. Barbara. BERLIN, * Man with the Pink. BRUGES, * Virgin Enthroned with Canon van der Paele. DRESDEN, * Triptych. LONDON, * Arnolfini and his Wife.

PETRUS CHRISTUS: DETROIT, St. Jerome in his Study.

CHAPTER XXIII

ROGER VAN DER WEYDEN: ANTWERP, Seven Sacraments. BERLIN, * Triptych of St. John Baptist. BOSTON, St. Luke Painting the Virgin's Portrait. MUNICH, Triptych, * Adoration. NEW YORK, Collection of Michael Friedsam, Portrait of Lionello d'Este.

HUGO VAN DER GOES: FLORENCE, * Portinari Altar-piece; Complete series of Photographs.

JUSTUS VAN GHENT: LONDON, Rhetoric (also attributed to MELOZZO DA FORLI). ROME, Barberini Palace, Federigo of Montefeltro and His Son. URBINO, * Institution of the Sacrament.

MEMLINC: ANTWERP, Portrait of Spinelli. BRUGES, Hospital of St. John; * Diptych of Martin Nieuwenhoven; * Shrine of St. Ursula. CHATSWORTH, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Triptych of Sir John Donne. NEW YORK, Portrait of Portinari; Santa Conversazione.

GERARD DAVID: BRUGES, * Baptism. BRUSSELS, Adoration of Magi. NEW YORK, Crucifixion; Virgin Feeding Child (school piece). Collection of J. P. Morgan, Rest on the Way to Egypt. ROUEN, Santa Conversazione.

DIERICK BOUTS: BRUSSELS, * Scenes from the Legend of Otto III. LOUVAIN, Church of St. Peter, Last Supper.

ISENBRANDT: NEW YORK, Triptych.

CHAPTER XXIV

MASSYS: ANTWERP, * Pietà. BRUSSELS, * Altar-piece of St. Anne. CHICAGO, Portrait of a Man. ENGLAND, Longford Castle, Collection of the Earl of Radnor, Portrait of Peter Gilles.

BERNARD VAN ORLEY: BRUSSELS, * Trials of Job. NEW YORK, Madonna and Child.

BOSCH: GHENT, Christ Bearing His Cross. MADRID, Adoration; Temptation of St. Anthony. VIENNA, Vision of St. Anthony.

BRUEGEL: LONDON, Adoration of the Kings. MADRID, Triumph of Death. NEW YORK, Harvest Scene, Summer. VIENNA, Peasant Wedding; Massacre of the Innocents.

MABUSE: ANTWERP, * Ecce Homo. BRUSSELS, Adam and Eve. LONDON, Adoration of the Kings.

PATINIR: BRUSSELS, Flight into Egypt.

ANTONIO MORO: MADRID, * Queen Mary of England.

CHAPTER XXV

WILHELM MEISTER, FOLLOWER OF: COLOGNE, * Madonna of the Bean Blossom.

STEFAN LOCHNER: COLOGNE, Cathedral, * Adoration.

MASTER OF THE LIFE OF MARY: MUNICH, Visitation.

MASTER OF THE HOLY KINSHIP: COLOGNE, Holy Kinship.

MASTER OF THE DEATH OF MARY: MUNICH, * Death of the Virgin.

WOLGEMUT, FOLLOWER OF: NUREMBERG, * Ecstasy of St. Bernard.

ALTDORFER: BERLIN, * Rest on the Flight into Egypt. MUNICH, St. George in the Forest.

BALDUNG: NUREMBERG, Rest on the Flight into Egypt; Allegory of Music.

CRANACH: BERLIN, * Repose on the Flight into Egypt; Fountain of Youth. FRANKFORT, Venus. VIENNA, Paradise.

DÜRER: BERLIN, * Portrait of Holzschuher. FLORENCE, * Adoration of the Kings. LONDON, Portrait of his Father. MADRID, * Adam and Eve. MUNICH, * Portrait of Himself. PRAGUE, Feast of the Rose Garlands.

CHAPTER XXVI

GRÜNEWALD: COLMAR, Complete series of the Isenheim altar-piece. MUNICH, * St. Erasmus and St. Mauritius.

PACHER: MUNICH, The Last Communion of St. Wolfgang. ST. WOLFGANG, Gothic Church, Altar-piece.

SCHONGAUER: COLMAR, Church of St. Martin, Madonna in a Rose Garden.

BURGKMAIR: AUGSBURG, Coronation of the Virgin. NUREMBERG, * Madonna with the Grapes. VIENNA, * Portrait of Himself and his Wife.

HOLBEIN THE ELDER: MUNICH, St. Sebastian Altar-piece.

HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER: BERLIN, * Georg Gisze. DRESDEN, Thomas Godsalve and his Son; Hubert Morett. LONDON, * Christine of Denmark. PARIS, * Erasmus. VIENNA, * Jane Seymour. WINDSOR, * Drawings.

CHAPTER XXVII

RUBENS: ANTWERP, * Coup de Lance. Cathedral, * Descent from the Cross. LONDON, Triumph of Silenus; Rape of Sabine Women. MADRID, Garden of Love; Marie de' Medici. MUNICH, Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus. PARIS, Triumph of the Eucharist; Helena Fourment and her Children. LENINGRAD, * Portrait of Helena Fourment. VIENNA, * St. Ildefonzo.

CHAPTER XXVIII

VAN DYCK: ANTWERP, * Pietà. BERLIN, * The Mocking of Christ. THE HAGUE, * Anna Wake. MADRID, Achilles Discovered. NEW YORK, * James Stuart, Duke of Lenox. PARIS, * Madonna and Child with Donors. PHILADELPHIA, Collection of Joseph Widener, Marchesa Grimaldi. WINDSOR, Henrietta Maria; St. Martin Dividing his Cloak.

TENIERS: THE HAGUE, Kitchen.

SUSTERMANS: FLORENCE, Pitti, * Portrait of Son of Frederick III. of Denmark.

JORDAENS: MADRID, Family Group.

BROUWER: DRESDEN, Brawl. NEW YORK, Portrait of a Man.

CHAPTER XXIX

EL GRECO: MADRID, Baptism. NEW YORK, Nativity; Portrait of a Man. Havemeyer Collection, View of Toledo. RICHMOND, Cook Collection, Christ Cleansing the Temple.

RIBALTA: LONDON, Christ Bearing His Cross. MADRID, Vision of St. Francis.

RIBERA: DRESDEN, * St. Agnes. MADRID, Jacob's Dream. NAPLES, Church of San Martino, Institution of the Sacrament. PARIS, Adoration of the Shepherds.

ZURBARAN: DRESDEN, St. Bonaventura Elected Pope. LONDON, * St. Francis. NEW YORK, Battle with the Moors. Hispanic Society Museum, Carthusian Monk. SEVILLE, Glory of St. Thomas Aquinas.

MURILLO: CINCINNATI, Emory Collection, Beggars. MADRID, Holy Family; St. Isabel of Hungary Nursing the Sick. MUNICH, * Street Boys with Fruit. LENINGRAD, Vision of St. Anthony. SEVILLE, Immaculate Conception.

CHAPTER XXX

VELAZQUEZ: BOSTON, * Infanta Maria Theresa. LONDON, Christ at the Column. Wallace Collection, Lady with a Fan. Collection of the Duke of Wellington, Water Carrier of Seville. MADRID, The Topers; * Forge of Vulcan; * Philip IV. on Horseback; * Don Carlos on Horseback; Don Ferdinand as Hunter; * Il Primo; Nino; * The Spinners; * Adoration. NEW YORK, Philip IV.; Supper at Emmaus. Hispanic Society Museum, Cardinal Pamphili. ROME, Doria Gallery, * Pope Innocent X.

HERRERA: MADRID, St. Basil.

PACHEO: SEVILLE, Cathedral, Embarkation of San Pedro Nolasco; Immaculate Conception.

COELLO: MADRID, * Don Carlos. LENINGRAD, Margarita Duchess of Parma.

GOYA: MADRID, Francisco Bayeu; Maya Nude; Maya Clothed; The Greased Pole; The Plague. Private Collection, Condé de Ferman Muñez; Marquess de Pontejos. NEW YORK, Don Sebastian Martinez. Hispanic Society Museum, Duchess of Alba. Havemeyer Collection, The Balcony.

FORTUNY: NEW YORK, * Portrait of a Lady.

SOROLLA: NEW YORK, Hispanic Society Museum, Beaching the Boat.

ZULOAGA: NEW YORK, Hispanic Society Museum, Carmen.

CHAPTER XXXI

OUWATER: BERLIN, * Raising of Lazarus. NEW YORK, Madonna and Child.

GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS: BERLIN, St. John Baptist. PARIS, Raising of Lazarus.

ENGELBRECHTSEN: AMSTERDAM, Crucifixion.

LUCAS VAN LEYDEN: BERLIN, * Game of Chess.

MIEREVELT: PARIS, Portrait of a Lady.

HALS: AMSTERDAM, Lucas de Clercq. BERLIN, * Hille Bobbe. HAARLEM, * Directresses of the Almshouse; Officers of St. Adrian's Company, details. LONDON, Wallace Collection, * Laughing Cavalier. NEW YORK, Portrait of a Man; Junker Ramp and his Sweetheart. PHILADELPHIA, Widener Collection, Isabella Coymans.

CHAPTER XXXII

REMBRANDT: AMSTERDAM, * Night Watch; Portrait of Burgomaster Six. CASSEL, * Saskia with a Myrtle Twig. DRESDEN, * Rembrandt and Saskia. THE HAGUE, * Anatomy Lesson. BERLIN, St. John Preaching. LONDON, Woman Taken in Adultery; Nativity. Buckingham Palace, Lady with a Fan. NEW YORK, Portrait of an Old Woman; Portrait of a Man (Marquand); The Auctioneer. Frick Collection, Portrait of Himself. LENINGRAD, Workers in the Vineyard.

CHAPTER XXXIII

TER BORCH: AMSTERDAM, Portrait of a Lady. CINCINNATI, Interior. DRESDEN, * Lady Washing Her Hands. HAGUE, Woman Parting Child's Hair. LONDON, * Portrait of a Gentleman. VIENNA, * Woman Peeling Apples.

PIETER DE HOOCH: AMSTERDAM, * Mother Combing Child's Hair. LONDON, Interior of a Dutch House; * Courtyard of a Dutch House. Buckingham Palace, Card Players. NEW YORK, Havemeyer Collection, The Visit.

VERMEER: AMSTERDAM, Woman Reading a Letter; The Cook. THE HAGUE, Head of a Girl; View of Delft. LONDON, Lady Standing at the Virginals; Lady Seated at the Virginals. NEW YORK, Woman with a Water Jug. PARIS, * Lace Maker. VIENNA, Painter in his Studio.

JAN STEEN: AMSTERDAM, Woman Feeding a Parrot; Festival of St. Nicholas; * The Sick Girl. LONDON, Buckingham Palace, The Card Players.

DOU: PARIS, * Woman with Dropsy.

MAES: AMSTERDAM, * The Blessing; * Woman Spinning.

METSU: NEW YORK, Visit to the Nursery.

CHAPTER XXXIV

BROUWER, attributed to: LONDON, Landscape with Tobias and the Angel.

RUISDAEL: AMSTERDAM, Winter Landscape. BERLIN, Oak Forest. THE HAGUE, Bleaching Fields, Haarlem. LONDON, View over Flat Wooded Country; View on Hollands Deep; The Shore at Scheveningen; * A Waterfall. NEW YORK, Landscape.

HOBBEMA: AMSTERDAM, Mill. NEW YORK, Entrance to a Village. PARIS, Mill.

CUYP: LONDON, * Cattle with Herdsman on River Bank. NEW YORK, View on the Maas.

VAN GOYEN: LONDON, Windmill by a River. NEW YORK, Landscape. PARIS, View in Holland.

SEGHERS: FLORENCE, Uffizi, Mountain Landscape. EDINBURGH, Desolate High Valley.

CAPPELLE: LONDON, A Calm.

REMBRANDT: PHILADELPHIA, Collection of Joseph Widener, The Mill.

CHAPTER XXXV

HOGARTH: LONDON, Hogarth's Servants. Millbank, * Marriage à la Mode; * Portrait of Himself; Portrait of Mary Hogarth. PHILADELPHIA, McFadden Collection, A Conversation at Wanstead House. WORCESTER, Portrait of Mrs. James.

REYNOLDS: DULWICH, Mrs. Siddons as Tragic Muse. ENGLAND, Collection of Lord Crewe, Master Crewe in Character of Henry VIII. LONDON, Three Graces decorating a Herm; * Lord Heathfield; * Age of Innocence; Robinetta. Wallace Collection, * Nell O'Brien; Lady Hoar and her Baby. NEW YORK, Fane and his Guardians.

GAINSBOROUGH: CINCINNATI, Collection of J. R. Taft, The Tomlinson Boys. ENGLAND, Tring Park, Rothschild Collection, Morning Walk. LONDON, Millbank, Parish Clerk. National Portrait Gallery, John Russell. Wallace Collection, Perdita Robinson. LOS ANGELES, San Marino Ranch, Collection of Henry Huntington, * The Blue Boy. NEW YORK, Frick Collection, The Mall in St. James Park. Morgan Collection, Duchess of Devonshire. PHILADELPHIA, Johnson Collection, Landscape with Mill. WORCESTER, Gainsborough's Daughters.

ROMNEY: ENGLAND, Collection of Earl of Stafford, * Children of Lord Gower. LONDON, * Parson's Daughter. Wallace Collection, * Perdita Robinson.

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HOPPNER: LONDON, * Countess of Oxford.

WEST: NEW YORK, Portrait of Himself.

COPLEY: HARTFORD, Athenæum, Mrs. Fort. NEW YORK, Mrs. Bourne.

STUART: BOSTON, * Washington. PHILADELPHIA, Collection of Miss Frances Wister, Anne Pennington. NEW YORK, Collection of Thomas B. Clarke, Mrs. Yates.

SIR PETER LELY: FLORENCE, Pitti, * Portrait of Cromwell. LONDON, Simon Patrick, D.D.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

CROME: LONDON, Moonrise on Marshes of Yare. NEW YORK, The Oak.

CONSTABLE: LONDON, Burlington House, Leaping Horse. LONDON, Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadow; preparatory sketch for the same; Sea; Weymouth Bay; Dedham Vale. PHILADELPHIA, McFadden Collection, The Lock, Dedham.

TURNER: LONDON, Calais Pier; * Sun Rising through Mist; Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus; * The Fighting Temeraire. Millbank, * Rain, Steam, and Speed; Old Chain Pier, Brighton.

WILSON: LONDON, Italian Coast Scene; Landscape with Bathers.

GAINSBOROUGH: LONDON, * Wood-scene, Cornard, Suffolk.

CHAPTER XXXVII

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HENRI BELLECHOSE AND JEAN MALOUEL: PARIS, Last Communion and Martyrdom of St. Denis.

FOUQUET: ANTWERP, Madonna and Child. BERLIN, * Étienne Chevalier. CHANTILLY, Illumination, Adoration of the Kings.

JEAN CLOUET: HAMPTON COURT, A Man with a Volume of Petrarch.

FRANÇOIS CLOUET: CHANTILLY, Cardinal de Chatillon; Chalk Drawings. LONDON, British Museum, Drawing: Head of Cardinal de Chatillon. PARIS, Pierre Quthe. VIENNA, Charles IX.

POUSSIN: BERLIN, Jupiter Nourished by the Goat Amalthea. DETROIT, Baptism. DRESDEN, Venus Reposing. PARIS, Deluge; Summer; Orpheus and Eurydice; Polyphemus.

CLAUDE: LONDON, David at the Cave of Adullam; * The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba. British Museum, Drawings. PARIS, Landing of Cleopatra at Tarsus.

VOUET: PARIS, Wealth.

LE SUEUR: PARIS, Clio, Euterpe, and Thalia; * Life of St. Bruno.

LE BRUN: PARIS, * Triumph of Alexander.

LARGILLIÈRE: LONDON, Wallace Collection, Louis XIV. and His Family. NEW YORK, Portrait of Baron de Prangins.

RIGAUD: PARIS, * Louis XIV.

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LANCRET: LONDON, Four Ages. Wallace Collection, Camargo.

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LE MOINE: VERSAILLES, Apotheosis of Hercules.

DE TROY: CHANTILLY, Oyster Breakfast.

BOUCHER: NEW YORK, Venus and Cupid. PARIS, * Diana Coming from the Bath. STOCKHOLM, Birth of Venus.

FRAGONARD: NEW YORK, Frick Collection, The Surprise.

NATTIER: VERSAILLES, Mme. Henriette as Flora; * Mme. Adelaïde of France.

LA TOUR: AMIENS, Portrait of Himself. PARIS, Chardin.

GREUZE: PARIS, * Girl with the Broken Pitcher.

LE NAIN BROTHERS: NEW YORK, Beggars. PARIS, The Blacksmith.

CHARDIN: PARIS, * The Blessing. STOCKHOLM, Morning Toilet. WASHINGTON, D. C., Phillips Memorial Gallery, A Bowl of Plums.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

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INGRES: BAYONNE, Stamaty Family. CHANTILLY, Portrait of Himself. DAMPIERRE, Château, Age of Gold. NANTES, Mme. de Sennones. PARIS, * Apotheosis of Homer; Turkish Bath; * The Source; * M. Bertin; Mlle. Rivière.

GROS: PARIS, Battle of Eylau; * Plague of Joppa.

GÉRICAULT: NEW YORK, Raft of Medusa, sketch. PARIS, Epsom Race.

DELACROIX: CHANTILLY, Two Foscari. NEW YORK, Abduction of Rebecca. PARIS, Portrait of Himself; * Entry of the Crusaders into Jerusalem; * Massacre of Scio. St. Sulpice, Expulsion of Heliodorus; Jacob wrestling with the Angel. Palais Bourbon, Orpheus Bringing Civilization to Greece.

CHASSÉRIAU: PARIS, The Sisters; Peace; Tepidarium.

MOREAU: NEW YORK, Œdipus. PARIS, Luxembourg, * Vision of Salome.

PUVIS DE CHAVANNES: BOSTON, * Public Library, Decorations. PARIS, Panthéon, * St. Geneviève Watching over Paris. Sorbonne, Decoration.

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ROUSSEAU: THE HAGUE, Mesdag Collection, Sunlit Oak. PARIS, Sunset; * Road in the Forest of Fontainebleau.

MILLET: BOSTON, New-born Calf. NEW YORK, Vanderbilt Collection, The Sower; Woman with Water Buckets. PARIS, Spring; * Gleaners; Drawings.

DAUBIGNY: NEW YORK, Evening. PARIS, * Spring.

DIAZ: BOSTON, * Descent of the Bohemians. NEW YORK, Edge of the Forest.

TROYON: NEW YORK, Summer Afternoon. PARIS, * Morning.

CHAPTER XL

DAUMIER: MUNICH, Drama. NEW YORK, Havemeyer Collection, Troisième Classe. PARIS, Robbers and Ass. WASHINGTON, D. C., Phillips Memorial Gallery, Three Lawyers.

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MANET: BRUSSELS, Collection M. V. Gatsem; Chez Père Lathuille. NEW YORK, * Boy with the Sword. Collection of Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Still Life. PARIS, Déjeuner sur l'Herbe.

DEGAS: BOSTON, Isabella Stewart Gardner Collection, Portrait of a Lady. CHICAGO, Ballet Girls. NEW YORK, Milliner (pastel). PARIS, Luxembourg, Le Salut au Publique.

REDON: NEW YORK, Apollo. PARIS, Petit Palais, Flowers. WASHINGTON, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Mystery.

CHAPTER XLI

FRENCH SCHOOL:

FANTIN-LATOUR: CHICAGO, Manet. LONDON, Mr. and Mrs. Edwards.

SIMON: CHICAGO, Mass in Brittany. PARIS, Procession. PITTSBURGH, Evening in a Studio.

GÉRÔME: PARIS, Luxembourg, * Cock Fight.

MEISSONIER: NEW YORK, Friedland.

BRETON: CHICAGO, * Song of the Lark.

CAROLUS DURAN: PARIS, Luxembourg, * Lady with a Glove.

FROMENTIN: PARIS, * Hunting with Hawks.

COUTURE: NEW YORK, Day Dreams.

ENGLISH SCHOOL:

WATTS: LONDON, Millbank, * Love and Death. National Portrait Gallery, Walter Crane.

HOLMAN HUNT: OXFORD, Keble College Chapel, * The Light of the World.

MILLAIS: LONDON, Millbank, North West Passage.

ROSSETTI: LIVERPOOL, Walker Art Gallery, * Dream of Dante. LONDON, Millbank, * Ecce Ancilla Domini.

BURNE-JONES: LONDON, Millbank, * Golden Stairs. R. E. Tatham Collection, Love among the Ruins.

FORD MADOX BROWN: LONDON, Christ Washing Peter's Feet.

LEIGHTON: MANCHESTER, * Captive Andromache.

BRANGWYN: LONDON, Lloyds Register, Queen Elizabeth going aboard the Golden Hind, 1581.

ORPEN: CHICAGO, Portrait of a Lady.

JOHN: LONDON, Millbank, Rachel; Mme. Suggia. NEW YORK, Quinn Collection (formerly), Figures on the Sea Shore.

RICKETTS: LONDON, Millbank, Don Juan.

SICKERT: LONDON, Millbank, Portrait of Moore.

AMERICAN SCHOOL.

DURAND: NEW YORK, The Beeches.

INNESS: NEW YORK, * Peace and Plenty.

MARTIN: NEW YORK, * Harp of the Winds.

WYANT: NEW YORK, An Old Clearing.

LA FARGE: NEW YORK, Muse of Painting; In Front of our House, Vaiala, Samoa.

HUNT: BOSTON, Girl Reading. NEW YORK, Sketch; Flight of Night.

VEDDER: NEW YORK, Pleiades.

BLASHFIELD: WASHINGTON, Congressional Library, Ceiling.

OAKLEY: HARRISBURG, Capitol, The Holy Experiment.

HOMER: BOSTON, * The Lookout; All's Well. PHILADELPHIA, Fox Hunt. WASHINGTON, High Cliffs, Coast of Maine.

EAKINS: PHILADELPHIA, 'Cello Player. Jefferson Medical College, The Gross Clinic. University of Pennsylvania, The Agnew Clinic.

RYDER: NEW YORK, Gellatly Collection, Flying Dutchman. SAN FRANCISCO, Collection of E. S. Wood, Jonah. WASHINGTON, Phillips Collection, Macbeth and the Witches. WORCESTER, Pegasus.

FULLER: NEW YORK, And She was a Witch. WORCESTER, * Winifred Dysart.

WHISTLER: LONDON, Millbank, * Old Battersea Bridge. Collection of W. C. Alexander, * Miss Alexander. Collection of Edmund Davis, At the Piano. WASHINGTON, Freer Collection, * La Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine; Nocturne; Chelsea Embankment.

SARGENT: CAMBRIDGE, Harvard, Major Higginson. NEW YORK, The Windham Sisters; Mr. Marquand. Collection of J. D. Rockefeller, Jr., Portrait of J. D. Rockefeller. PHILADELPHIA, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Field.

BEAUX: NEW YORK, Ernesta. PHILADELPHIA, A New England Woman.

DUVENECK: BOSTON, Girl Reading. CINCINNATI, Portrait of Mrs. Duveneck.

CHASE: PHILADELPHIA, Woman with the White Shawl.

ALEXANDER: NEW YORK, * Walt Whitman. CINCINNATI, Rodin.

CASSATT: NEW YORK, Mother and Child.

ROBINSON: NEW YORK, Landscape.

TWACHTMAN: NORTHAMPTON, Hillyer Gallery (formerly), Windmills. WORCESTER, Snow.

WEIR: PITTSBURGH, Plowing for Buckwheat. NEW YORK, Collection of Mrs. Julian A. Weir, Factory Village. WASHINGTON, Freer Collection, Gentlewoman.

HASSAM: BUFFALO, Church at Old Lyme. NEW YORK, Isle of Shoals.

DAVIES: NEW YORK, The Dream. WASHINGTON, Phillips Collection, Four O'Clock Ladies.

SLOAN: NEW YORK, Sand Storm.

HENRI: NEW YORK, Spanish Gipsy.

BELLOWS: BOSTON, Emma and her Children. BUFFALO, Elinor, Jean, and Anna. CLEVELAND, Sharkey's 1909.

REDFIELD: CINCINNATI, Road to the Village.

SCHOFIELD: NEW YORK, Sand Dunes near Lelant.

PRENDERGAST: WASHINGTON, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Ponte della Paglia—Venice.

CHAPTER XLII

BOUDIN: NEW YORK, On the Beach at Trouville.

JONGKIND: NEW YORK, Honfleur.

PISSARRO: PARIS, Luxembourg, Le Verger. PITTSBURGH, Quai San Sever, Rouen. WASHINGTON, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Market Place at Dieppe.

SISLEY: BOSTON, On the Road to Moret. WASHINGTON, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Snow at Louveciennes; Banks of the Seine.

MONET: CHICAGO, Argenteuil sur Seine. NEW YORK, Estate of T. M. Davis, Valley of the Nervia; Rouen Cathedral; The Seine at Vetheuil. Osborne Collection, View of Vetheuil.

RENOIR: CHICAGO, Circus Girls. LONDON, Millbank, Parapluie. PARIS, Luxembourg, Young Woman in the Sunlight; Reader. MERION, Barnes Foundation, Mother and Baby; Women Drinking Tea. WASHINGTON, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Boatmen at Bougival.

CÉZANNE: MERION, Barnes Foundation, Mme. Cézanne. NEW YORK, The Poorhouse on the Hill. Collection of Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Still Life; Old Sailor. PARIS, Card Players; Poorhouse. Luxembourg, L'Estaque. Pellerin Collection, Bathers.

CHAPTER XLIII

SEURAT: CHICAGO, Grand Jatte. LONDON, Millbank, La Baignade.

SIGNAC: PARIS, Luxembourg, Marseilles Harbor.

GAUGUIN: LYONS, Tahitians. NEW YORK, Lewisohn Collection, Prayer to Mary. WASHINGTON, Phillips Memorial Gallery, Idyll of Tahiti.

VAN GOGH: MANNHEIM, The Ravine. PARIS, Flowers. Luxembourg, Landscape. MERION, Barnes Foundation, The Postman; Houses.

MATISSE: MERION, Barnes Foundation, The Music Lesson. PARIS, Henri Matisse; Girl with Plumed Hat.

DERAIN: CHICAGO, Female Figure. COLOGNE, Landscape.

PICASSO: MERION, Barnes Foundation, Still Life Composition.

BRAQUE: MERION, Barnes Foundation, Still Life. PARIS, private collection Landscape.

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